



## 저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

Doctoral Thesis

**Collaborative Public Diplomacy  
between the Government and NGOs in  
Korea, Japan and Turkey**

정부와 NGO간 공공외교 협력에  
대한 분석:  
한국, 일본, 터키의 사례를 중심으로

2016年 2月

Seoul National University  
Graduate School of International Studies

Kadir Ayhan

# **Collaborative Public Diplomacy between the Government and NGOs in Korea, Japan and Turkey**

A Thesis Presented

by

**Kadir Ayhan**

to

Graduate Program in International Studies

in partial fulfillments of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Studies

February 2016

The Graduate School of International Studies  
Seoul National University  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Collaborative Public Diplomacy between the Government and NGOs  
in Korea, Japan and Turkey**

정부와 NGO간 공공외교 협력에 대한 분석:

한국, 일본, 터키의 사례를 중심으로

지도 교수 이 근

이 논문을 국제학박사 학위논문으로 제출함

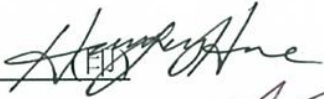




2016년 1월

서울대학교 국제대학원 국제학과

카디르 아이한

카디르 아이한의 국제학박사 학위논문을 인준함

2016년 1월

위원장	한영혜	
부위원장	정종호	
위원	장덕진	
위원	김태환	
위원	이근	

## THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

The undersigned, appointed by the  
Graduate School of International Studies,  
Seoul National University  
have examined a thesis entitled

**Collaborative Public Diplomacy between the Government and NGOs in  
Korea, Japan and Turkey**

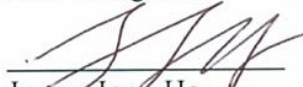
presented by Kadir Ayhan,

candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Studies, and  
hereby certify that the examined thesis is worthy of acceptance

*Committee Chair*

  
Han Young-Hae


*Committee Vice Chair*

  
Jeong, Jong-Ho

*Committee Member*

  
Chang, Duk-Jin

*Committee Member*

  
Kim, Taehwan

*Thesis Adviser*

  
Lee Geun

## **ABSTRACT**

As a consequence of changing domestic and international socio-political environment, public diplomacy policies require collaboration between state agencies and non-state actors for more effective and long-term outcomes. There are various non-state actors that can be considered relevant to public diplomacy, but this study focuses on the NGOs. There are only a handful of studies on non-state public diplomacy leaving it a relatively unexplored area. In order to explore understudied area of NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy, this research project attempts to answer the questions of why and how NGOs do –or contribute to- public diplomacy. Furthermore, why and how collaboration takes place between state agencies and NGOs in the area of public diplomacy are also explored.

This study first incorporates NGOs into public diplomacy analysis to point out their relevance to different dimensions, communication frameworks, objectives and instruments of public diplomacy. Furthermore, building on this discussion, an analytical framework is developed to predict and normatively suggest what kind of NGOs are the best candidates for collaboration with state agencies for relational and network dimensions of public diplomacy. Moreover, the study develops a typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs for public diplomacy initiatives based on two dimensions: project-initiator which refers to whose project the collaborative public diplomacy initiative is, and collaboration-initiator which refers to who proposes the collaboration in the first place.

It is widely accepted in the recent public diplomacy literature that due to certain disadvantages state agencies have, state-centric public diplomacy alone falls short of

achieving effective public diplomacy outcomes particularly in the long-term. Where state agencies are insufficient, certain NGOs have advantages that might complement or supplement outcomes of public diplomacy policies of state agencies if they collaborate. Collaboration with NGOs can be either through state agencies' welcoming of NGOs' applications for collaboration for certain public diplomacy initiatives or alternatively through state agencies' quest for best potential partners for those public diplomacy initiatives. This study contends that state agencies' open collaboration invitation to NGOs is not enough to maximize their public diplomacy outcomes, they should also actively seek for the appropriate NGO partners, which in result enables benefitting from previously unrealized potentials of these NGOs.

A multiple case study on Korean, Japanese and Turkish NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy was conducted to provide empirical data to complement theoretical arguments in this dissertation thesis. The following propositions are strengthened by the discussions in the case study: (1) Some NGOs' activities create public diplomacy outcomes which offer untapped potential for more effective public diplomacy. NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy can be appreciated when public diplomacy outcomes of their activities -for whatever initial objective they have in mind- are taken into account. (2) NGOs have potential capabilities that include sustainable relationship-building and management, symmetrical and dialogic communication with their stakeholders whom they have rather equal footing with. (3) When 'credibility' is the greatest obstacle to reach out to the certain publics, collaboration with NGOs that enjoy credibility in the relevant (part of the) network can facilitate communication and relationship management. (4) When 'reach' is the greatest obstacle to conduct effective public diplomacy in some areas, collaboration with NGOs that have

bridging social capital can facilitate connection, communication and relationship management. (5) State-centric public diplomacy is not enough for effective public diplomacy. In order to make up for its insufficiencies in different dimensions, state agencies need to collaborate with or outsource to NGOs that are already doing – or that has potential to do – effective activities in those dimensions in line with public diplomacy objectives of the state agencies.

**Keywords:** public diplomacy, non-state actors, NGOs, public relations, social networks, collaboration



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES .....	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	xiii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Organization of the Dissertation .....	5
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	7
2.1. Public Diplomacy.....	7
2.1.1. Old Public Diplomacy.....	7
2.1.2. New Public Diplomacy .....	10
2.1.3. Evolution of the Concept of Public Diplomacy .....	12
2.1.4. Non-State Public Diplomacy.....	29
2.2. Research Problem .....	35
3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....	37
3.1. Conceptualization.....	38
3.1.1. Non-State Actors .....	38
3.1.2. NGOs and Civil Society.....	40

3.1.3.	Public Goods.....	43
3.1.4.	Global Civil Society and Global Public Goods.....	44
3.1.5.	Collaboration between State Agencies and Non-State Actors.....	45
3.2.	Definition and Actors of Public Diplomacy.....	45
3.2.1.	Working Definition of Public Diplomacy .....	46
3.2.2.	Public Diplomacy Actors .....	48
3.3.	Incorporating Non-State Actors into Public Diplomacy Analysis .....	52
3.4.	Analytical Framework for Relational, Networked and Collaborative Public Diplomacy and NGOs.....	60
3.4.1.	Relational Public Diplomacy and NGOs .....	61
3.4.2.	Networked Public Diplomacy and NGOs .....	65
3.4.3.	Collaborative Public Diplomacy and NGOs .....	74
3.4.4.	Typology of Collaboration between State Agencies and NGOs .....	80
4.	METHODOLOGY.....	89
4.1.	Qualitative Research .....	89
4.2.	Sampling .....	97
4.3.	Data Collection .....	104
4.4.	Introduction of NGOs .....	108
4.4.1.	Korean NGOs.....	108
4.4.2.	Japanese NGOs .....	113

4.4.3.	Turkish NGOs .....	115
5.	CASE STUDY .....	120
5.1.	Relational Public Diplomacy and Selected NGOs.....	121
5.1.1.	Lack of Relationship-building and Asymmetrical Approaches.....	122
5.1.2.	Relationship-building and Symmetrical Approaches .....	130
5.2.	Networked Public Diplomacy and Selected NGOs.....	151
5.2.1.	Credibility .....	152
5.2.2.	Reach.....	168
5.2.3.	Limited Resources.....	180
5.3.	Collaborative Public Diplomacy and Selected NGOs.....	186
5.3.1.	Passive Contractor.....	186
5.3.2.	Active Contractor .....	188
5.3.3.	Passive Collaboration.....	190
5.3.4.	Active Collaboration .....	197
5.4.	NGOs' Other Contributions to Public Diplomacy of Their Home Countries .. .....	207
5.4.1.	Unintentional Contributions to Public Diplomacy (Byproducts)...	208
5.4.2.	Intentional Contributions to Public Diplomacy .....	212
5.4.3.	Education and Creating Awareness .....	219
5.4.4.	Mobilization .....	225

5.5.	Summary of the Case Study.....	229
6.	FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION .....	231
6.1.	Activities of Selected NGOs in the Realm of Public Diplomacy and Comparisons between Development NGOs and Advocacy NGOs.....	233
6.1.1.	Comparisons between Faith-inspired NGOs and Secular NGOs...	243
6.1.2.	Cross-country Comparisons of NGOs .....	245
6.2.	Discussion on Relational Public Diplomacy.....	259
6.3.	Discussion on Networked Public Diplomacy .....	263
6.4.	Discussion on Collaborative Public Diplomacy .....	266
6.5.	Policy Implications for Collaborative Public Diplomacy .....	272
6.6.	Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research .....	280
	REFERENCES .....	283
	APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH).....	320
	APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (KOREAN) .....	324
	APPENDIX C: INFORMATION ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES.....	329
	APPENDIX D: INFORMATION ABOUT OBSERVATIONS .....	330
	KOREAN ABSTRACT .....	331

## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1: Actors of public diplomacy .....	51
Figure 2: Research design .....	96
Table 1: Incorporating non-state actors into public diplomacy analysis .....	59
Table 2: Identifying related NGOs for collaborative public diplomacy.....	79
Table 3: Typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs .....	86
Table 4: Selected NGOs in the typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs.....	207
Table 5: Identifying selected NGOs for collaborative public diplomacy.....	230
Table 6: Categorization of selected NGOs based on the findings.....	238
Table 7: Motivations of selected NGOs .....	241
Table 8: Selected NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy objectives.....	242

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CNSP: Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

CSW: Commission on the Status of Women

ECOSOC: Economic and Social Council

EU: European Union

IOC: International Olympic Committee

JF: Japan Foundation

JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency

KDK: Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy

KF: Korea Foundation

KOICA: Korea International Cooperation Agency

MNCs: Multi-national Corporations

MOFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

NPO: Non-profit Organization

NDA: Non-state Diplomatic Actors

ODA: Official Development Aid

PD: Public Diplomacy

PPP: Public-private Partnership

SNS: Social Networking Sites

TIKA: International Cooperation and Development Agency

UN: United Nations

U.S.: United States

VIP: Very Important Person

VO: Voluntary Organizations

WFUNA: World Federation of United Nations Associations

# 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Most recent literature on public diplomacy acknowledges the new actors of public diplomacy, namely non-state actors (see e.g. Attias, 2012; Byrne, 2009; Cowan and Arsenault, 2008; Gilboa, 2000; Fisher, 2013a; Fitzpatrick, 2010; Gilboa, 2008; Golan, Yang, and Kinsey, 2015; Gregory, 2011; Tang and Li, 2011; Li, 2011; Hocking, 2004; Trent, 2012b; Hocking and Melissen, 2015; Hocking et al., 2012; Kelley, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2014; Kim, 2012b; La Porte, 2012a; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; McDowell, 2008; Melissen, 2005b, 2011; Melissen and Lee, 2011; Nye, 2004, 2008a; Pahlavi, 2004; Pigman and Deos, 2008; Riordan, 2004; Seib, 2009, 2013; Snow, 2008; Snow and Taylor, 2009; The U.S. Department of State, 2010; Wang, 2006b; Zaharna, 2010; Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013b; Zatepilina, 2009, 2010). There is even the term “new public diplomacy” (Melissen, 2005b) which appreciates the non-state actors’ role in public diplomacy, more variety of objectives and instruments compared to the earlier conceptualizations of public diplomacy. There are various non-state actors that can be considered relevant to public diplomacy, but this study focuses on the NGOs.

It is widely accepted in the new public diplomacy literature that due to certain disadvantages state agencies have, which are discussed in detail below, state-centric public diplomacy alone falls short of achieving effective public diplomacy outcomes particularly in the long-term (see e.g. Armitage and Nye, 2007: 65; Attias, 2012; The Secretary of State's

---

<sup>1</sup> Some parts of the earlier version of this dissertation thesis are published in (Ayhan, 2014) and (Lee and Ayhan, 2015).



Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy, 2008: 2-3; Kalin, 2011: 21; Djerejian, 2003; The U.S. General Accountability Office, 2006, 2009; Rosenau, 1995b; Kelley, 2014, 2010; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2014; 2008: 12; Zatepilina, 2010: 4, 27; Zaharna, 2013, 2012a, 2010; The U.S. Department of State, 2010: 99, 177; Cabral et al., 2014: 2; Lord, 2008: 1, 4-5; Seo, 2013: 160-161; Snow, 2008: 191, 199; Gregory, 2008; Fisher, 2008, 2013b, 2013a; Cowan and Arsenault, 2008). Where state agencies are insufficient, certain NGOs have advantages that might “complement” or “supplement” (Young, 2006: 39-40) outcomes of public diplomacy policies of state agencies if they collaborate. Collaboration with NGOs can be either through state agencies’ welcoming of NGOs’ applications for collaboration for certain public diplomacy initiatives or alternatively through state agencies’ quest for best potential partners for those public diplomacy initiatives. This study contends that state agencies’ open collaboration invitation to NGOs is not enough to maximize their public diplomacy outcomes, they should also actively seek for the appropriate NGO partners, which in result enables benefitting from previously unrealized potentials of these NGOs.

This study first incorporates NGOs into public diplomacy analysis to point out their relevance to different dimensions, communication frameworks, objectives and instruments of public diplomacy. Furthermore, building on this discussion, an analytical framework is developed to predict and normatively suggest what kind of NGOs are the best candidates for collaboration with state agencies for relational and network dimensions of public diplomacy. Moreover, the study develops a typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs for public diplomacy initiatives based on two dimensions: project-initiator which refers to whose project the collaborative public diplomacy initiative is, and collaboration-initiator

which refers to who proposes the collaboration in the first place.

There are only a handful of studies on non-state public diplomacy leaving it a relatively unexplored area.<sup>2</sup> There is also lack of analytical tools to analyze non-state public diplomacy. Another area that is under-researched is the public diplomacy of countries other than the United States. As Gilboa (2008: 57) puts it “[l]imited, too, is research on public diplomacy programs and activities of countries other than the United States and of new international actors such as NGOs, civil society groups, and individuals.”

Furthermore, there is a need for more empirical research particularly to understand how public diplomacy is practiced in the field by NGOs. More empirical exploration of non-state public diplomacy would create “greater insights based on cumulative knowledge” (Yin, 2011: 296-297). Fitzpatrick (2012: 437) calls for more empirical research which “is needed to explain how public diplomacy does, can and should work in a networked world.”

This research project aims to respond to these two calls for further research by Gilboa and Fitzpatrick. This study addresses these rather unexplored areas by conducting an empirical study of NGOs’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy in three countries other than the United States. Fifteen NGOs, which have contributed to public diplomacy of their home countries, are selected from Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea), Japan and Turkey. In short, this study plugs the knowledge gap in non-state public diplomacy and nonprofit-government relations in the realm of public diplomacy outside the United States.

Exploring understudied area of NGOs’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy is needed to better understand the potential NGOs have for more effective public diplomacy

---

<sup>2</sup> See, for example (Zatepilina, 2009, 2010; Zatepilina-Monacell, 2012, 2015) for in-depth exploration of NGOs’ contribution to America’s public diplomacy.

outcomes. For this reason, this research project attempts to answer the questions of why and how NGOs do –or contribute to- public diplomacy. Furthermore, why and how collaboration takes place between state agencies and NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy are also explored to find out how NGOs’ potential can be realized.

There are several propositions made in this study. They appear in the relevant sections throughout the study. The propositions are summarized here:

- 1) Some NGOs’ activities create public diplomacy outcomes which offer untapped potential for more effective public diplomacy. NGOs’ relevance to public diplomacy can be appreciated when public diplomacy outcomes of their activities -for whatever initial objective they have in mind- are taken into account.
- 2) Certain NGOs have potential capabilities that include sustainable relationship-building and management, symmetrical and dialogic communication with their stakeholders whom they have rather equal footing.
- 3) When ‘credibility’ is the greatest obstacle to reach out to the certain publics, collaboration with NGOs that enjoy credibility in the relevant (part of the) network can facilitate communication and relationship management.
- 4) When ‘reach’ is the greatest obstacle to conduct effective public diplomacy in some areas, collaboration with NGOs that have bridging social capital can facilitate connection, communication and relationship management (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 393).
- 5) State-centric public diplomacy is not enough for effective public diplomacy. In order to make up for its insufficiencies in different dimensions, state agencies need to

collaborate with or outsource to NGOs that are already doing – or that has potential to do- effective activities in those dimensions in line with public diplomacy objectives of the state agencies. State agencies must look out for potential partners for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives as well as opening their doors to enthusiasts that come with partnership proposals.

## **1.1. Organization of the Dissertation**

Chapter 2 begins with the review of public diplomacy definitions with a particular focus on how non-state actors are seen in these definitions. Then, the evolution of public diplomacy is discussed with a focus on non-state actors' place in this evolution. In Section 2.1.4, some literature on non-state public diplomacy is introduced and the gaps in the literature are identified. The last section of Chapter 2 puts forward the research problem of this research project.

In Chapter 3, the concepts that are important to this research such as non-state actors, NGOs and public goods are conceptualized. Building on the discussions in the Literature Review Chapter, second section of this chapter introduces the working definition and related actors of public diplomacy for the purposes of this research project. The third section of Analytical Framework Chapter advances and combines the public diplomacy analyses of Leonard (2002), Gilboa (2008) and Zaharna (2009) to identify non-state actors' relevance to public diplomacy in different time frames. In the next section, an analytical framework for relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy is developed to guide the analysis

of NGOs' place in medium-to-long-term public diplomacy. Chapter 4 presents the research methodology, sampling, data collection and introduces the selected NGOs.

In Chapter 5, the empirical data on the NGOs is analyzed. This analysis is guided by the analytical framework that is established in Chapter 3. The data is categorized into four categories (i.e. relational public diplomacy, networked public diplomacy, collaborative public diplomacy and NGOs' other contributions to public diplomacy) and couple of themes for each category (e.g. credibility, public diplomacy beyond national interests, reach and limited resources of official public diplomacy). Each theme and category is an analysis of different aspect of the NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy. The case study is summarized in Table 5 at the end of Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 begins with a summary and discussion of the findings in this research project. The first four sections are dedicated for this purpose. The fifth section discusses the policy implications of this study for collaborative public diplomacy. The last section presents the shortcomings of this research project and makes suggestions for future research.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Public Diplomacy**

Public diplomacy is widely used as a term both by practitioners and academics without an agreed-upon understanding of its definition and boundaries. Since its first use, public diplomacy was defined from different aspects of the term including its objectives, its strategies and tactics, or its actors (Zatepilina, 2010: 23). There are roughly two groups of definitions of public diplomacy. The first group of definitions differentiates public diplomacy from traditional diplomacy by acknowledging that public opinion and foreign publics matter. Public diplomacy in these definitions is seen as official, state-centered government-to-publics interaction that is linked to a state's foreign policy outcomes (Snow, 2010: 89). The second group of definitions recognize new actors, more variety of objectives, strategies and instruments for what is called "new public diplomacy" (Melissen, 2005b).

#### **2.1.1. Old Public Diplomacy**

Public diplomacy term was coined to name the new diplomatic tool that addresses foreign publics in order to indirectly influence foreign policies of other countries since public opinion became more important due to various factors including globalization, technological

advancements, communication revolution and democratization.<sup>3</sup> The earlier definitions of public diplomacy regarded influencing foreign policies of other countries as *the* primary goal. In 1965, Edmund A. Gullion, the Dean of Fletcher School, coined the term public diplomacy. According to the Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy brochure in 1965, public diplomacy "deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies...encompasses dimensions of foreign relations beyond traditional diplomacy, the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications" (The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, 2002). Private actors for public diplomacy was recognized as early as 1966 by Gullion, but with an implication of state direction for state interests: "the means by which governments, private groups and individuals influence the attitudes and opinions of other peoples and governments in such a way as to exercise influence on their foreign policy decisions" (The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, 2002).

Delaney (1968: 3) also mentions private individuals in a similar vein and adds indirect influences to his definition but again limits public diplomacy to influencing foreign policy decisions: "the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government's foreign policy decisions." In line with the rather older definitions of public diplomacy, Malone (1985: 199) also argues that public diplomacy is implemented

---

<sup>3</sup> See (Zaharna, 2010: 80-83; Cull, 2009a) for more on the coining of the public diplomacy term.

“ultimately” to alter foreign policies of other countries by “direct communication with foreign peoples.”

Furthermore, public diplomacy is seen as governments’ business, as for some both the words ‘public’ and ‘diplomacy’ may suggest. Tuch (1990: 3, 26-27) regards public diplomacy in the monopoly of government by defining public diplomacy as “a government’s process of communication with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies” and “official government efforts to shape the communications environment overseas in which American foreign policy is played out, in order to reduce the degree to which misperceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the U.S. and other nations.” United States state agencies’ definition of public diplomacy as a state-centered tool to influence foreign publics to promote U.S. national interests has not evolved much from Gullion until very recently (Comptroller General, 1979; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 1995; USIA, 1997; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 1998; The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, 2002; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2002; The U.S. General Accountability Office, 2006; The U.S. Department of State, 2010). A U.S. government report emphasizes promotion of national interests as in its definition public diplomacy seeks “to promote the national interest of the United States through understanding, informing and influencing foreign audiences” (USIA, 1997) This official definition was extended to cover more activities in 2002 but for the same objective: "the cultural, educational, and information programs, citizen exchanges, or broadcasts used to promote the national interest of the United States through understanding, informing, and influencing



foreign audiences" (The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2002).

### **2.1.2. New Public Diplomacy**

The earlier definitions of public diplomacy regard public diplomacy as a state-centered initiative which is employed mainly for the aim of influencing of foreign policy decisions of other countries. On the other hand, 'new public diplomacy' definitions recognize new actors, more variety of objectives, strategies and instruments. As such, building relationships, listening and understanding others' needs and interests are also seen as vital public diplomacy objectives. In these definitions of new public diplomacy, altering foreign policy decisions of other countries represents only one of the many objectives of public diplomacy and not necessarily *the* primary one. Non-state actors such as corporations, NGOs, academic institutions, epistemic communities and influential individuals are recognized as new actors in public diplomacy, not only as outsourcers of a government's public diplomacy policies, but also as independent actors in their own right.

Grunig (1993b: 3) contended that any organization that engages overseas publics is doing public diplomacy which he likens to international public relations: "such diverse organizations as governments, political parties, revolutionary factions and multinational corporations are affected by publics in other countries... thus find themselves using public relations strategies as they conduct what political scientists have called public diplomacy." In late 1990s, Kunczik (1997: 62) has given a more detailed account of new actors such as international political organizations, international socio-economic organizations,

multinational corporations and NGOs.

In a similar vein USIA Alumni Association's (renamed to Public Diplomacy Alumni Association) website (Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, 2002) also mentions private and independent actors in public diplomacy, though without going much into details:

[P]ublic diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy in that it involves interaction not only with governments but primarily with nongovernmental individuals and organizations. Furthermore, public diplomacy activities often present many differing views represented by private American individuals and organizations in addition to official government views.

Fouts and Thomas (2005: 4) emphasize communication aspect of public diplomacy involving non-state actors, but limiting their role (other than the multilateral organizations) to merely being outsourcers of governments (or multilateral organizations): "...public diplomacy focuses on the ways in which a country (or multi-lateral organization such as the United Nations), acting deliberately or inadvertently, through both official and private individuals and institutions, communicates with citizens in other societies." Furthermore, they believe that "the impact of private activities -- from popular culture to fashion to sports to news to the Internet -- that inevitably, if not purposefully, have an impact on foreign policy and national security as well as on trade, tourism and other national interests" (Fouts and Thomas, 2005: 3).

Lastly, some recent studies on public diplomacy gives objective-based definitions of public diplomacy which explains better the introduction of non-state actors as the new actors in public diplomacy. For Leonard et al. (2002: 9), "public diplomacy is about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures and peoples;

communicating our points of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas where we can find common cause.”

Gregory’s (2011: 353) definition is objective-based and more appreciative of both new actors and new objectives as he regards public diplomacy as “an instrument used by states, associations of states, and some sub-state agencies and non-state actors to understand cultures, attitudes and behavior; to build and manage relationships; and to influence thoughts and mobilize actions to advance their interests and values.”

Zatepilina (2009: 156-157) also made an objective-based definition of public diplomacy building on the earlier and more recent definitions of public diplomacy:

public diplomacy is a nation-state's direct or non-state-actor-mediated communication with the people of other countries to (1) shape a favorable foreign public opinion about the nation (2) gain a better understanding among foreign publics; and (3) build a positive image/brand/reputation for the country overseas. But ultimately, public diplomacy seeks to (4) influence the behavior and policies of foreign governments by influencing the attitudes and opinions of foreign citizens.

### **2.1.3. Evolution of the Concept of Public Diplomacy**

Public diplomacy is a term that had currency for more than fifty years now and has witnessed an evolution in that period. Initially, ‘public diplomacy’ was coined as a new diplomacy tool different than traditional diplomacy as it addresses ‘publics.’ Later on, it

evolved into ‘new public diplomacy’ as a consequence of changing domestic and international socio-political environment due to factors such as globalization, consolidation of democracies and technological advancements, particularly communication and transportation technologies (see also Fitzpatrick, 2012: 435; Zaharna, 2010: 81-88). New public diplomacy’s features are recently discussed from “relational, networked and collaborative approaches” (Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013b) to keep public diplomacy practices up-to-date and effective.

In order to understand what public diplomacy is, we must also understand what the words ‘public’ and ‘diplomacy’ imply. There is a dichotomy in the meaning of ‘public.’ The word ‘public’ in ‘public diplomacy’ can mean the public as the audiences of the public diplomacy activities; as well as the subject who practices public diplomacy, suggesting state-centrism.

Diplomacy is “reinvented” in the “information age” (Burt, Robison, and Fulton, 1998) (or in the “network society” (Castells, 1996, 2004b, 2010)<sup>4</sup>) and “diplomacy must become increasingly public to serve the national interest” (Burt, Robison, and Fulton, 1998: 3) in this age. Indeed, the very first definitions of public diplomacy clearly emphasize the public attitudes and public opinion, implying that publics matter for diplomacy (The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, 2002). As seen in the ‘old public diplomacy’ literature, the idea behind coining and using this new concept was to differentiate it from traditional diplomacy which takes place between state agencies. Even though the subject that practices public diplomacy was assumed to be the state agencies, the

---

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion on “network society” as an alternative terminology to “information society” or “knowledge society,” see (Castells, 2004a); “...if information and knowledge are the key factors for power and wealth in *all* (emphasis in original) societies, it is misleading to conceptualize our society as such...” (Castells, 2004a: 7); “...this conclusion will not come as a shock: we are not in the information or knowledge society” (Castells, 2004a: 41).

word 'public' was used to clarify that the publics – as opposed to foreign diplomats- were to be addressed in this new type of diplomacy agenda. Indeed, one of the earlier definitions in a U.S. government report shows this clearly: "[t]he U.S. Government has sought over the past 30 years to supplement and reinforce traditional intergovernmental diplomacy by playing a key role in what has come to be called 'public diplomacy' -- international communication, cultural and educational activities in which 'the public' is involved" (Comptroller General, 1979: 1). In other words, the term public diplomacy was initially seen as a sub-concept of diplomacy to reinforce traditional diplomacy by involving the publics.

In the case of the word 'diplomacy' in 'public diplomacy,' it is more difficult to be conceptualized. Traditionally, diplomacy is defined as "the process by which governments, acting through official agents, communicate with one another" (Plischke, 1979: 32). In a more contemporary interpretation, diplomacy is defined -probably to encompass newly coined public diplomacy- as "the established method of influencing the decisions and behavior of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence" (Marks, 1980).

The concept 'public diplomacy' implies a breakthrough from the traditional concept of 'diplomacy' which explicitly took place between state agents. The first change was that in a world where public attitudes and public opinion matter, states could no more overlook the importance of publics in order to directly or indirectly influence foreign policy decisions of other countries. Heine (2006, 2008) argues that there has been a shift from the "club model of diplomacy" in which "diplomats meet only with government officials" to the "network diplomacy," in which engagement of foreign publics has become a must. In these circumstances, diplomats' primary role is not passive "representation" by "being," but active

“projection” which Heine (2006: 12, 18; 2008: 279, 283) defines as “conveying what the diplomat's country is and entails to the host society and government.”

The evolutionary stopover on the way from traditional diplomacy to the introduction of public diplomacy was propaganda, black and/or white. Zaharna (2009: 89) describes propaganda as “the most extreme form of control over information design and dissemination in an attempt to cross over from public advocacy to coercion.” In 1967, Gullion said that he “would have liked to call it (public diplomacy) ‘propaganda’ ” since “it seemed the nearest thing in the pure interpretation of the word to what” they are doing, but “ ‘propaganda’ has always had a pejorative connotation...” (Arndt, 2005: 480). Public diplomacy is still often compared to propaganda (Nye, 2002; Cull, 2009a; for more, see Armstrong, 2009; Kelley, 2009; Zaharna, 2009; Manheim, 1994; Zaharna, 2004; Arndt, 2005; Zatepilina, 2010), but public diplomacy is the more civilized, more ethical and evolved version of propaganda.

The second change, in the evolution of diplomacy to public diplomacy, is the effective engagement of non-state actors such as multilateral organizations, NGOs, INGOs and multinational corporations in diplomacy circles as negotiators, activists, advocates, promoters, influencers and multipliers. Track II and track 1.5 diplomacy are examples of this change (for more, see Diamond and McDonald, 1991; Fisher, 2006; Li, 2013; Diamond and McDonald, 1996; Kelley, 2014; Sundararaman, 2008). Transnational advocacy networks’ leading roles in international treaties such as the 1997 Ottawa Convention that led to banning of landmines, the 1998 Rome Statue that led to establishment of International Criminal Court, the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme that led to establishment of a diamond regime, the Framing on Clime Change that deals with global warming and the Convention on Biological Diversity that deals with nature conversation are oft-cited prominent examples of

non-state actors' influence in international affairs (for more, see Anderson, 2000; Hocking, 2004; Chi, 2005; Betsill and Corell, 2008; Kim, 2014; Oglesby, 2010; Zaharna, 2011b, 2011a, 2007, 2010; van Seters, 2008; Van Ham, 2005; Murray, 2006; Henrikson, 2005; Kelley, 2014, 2010; Arts, 2001a; Davenport, 2002; Melissen, 2005a; Price, 1998; Zaharna, 2013).

Hocking et al. (Hocking et al., 2012) consider this a shift from “state-centered diplomacy” to “integrative diplomacy” (see also Hocking and Melissen, 2015). The shift is explained in different dimensions: (1) state is no longer single authority and diplomacy is no longer strictly intergovernmental; (2) trend towards transparency; (3) hierarchical communication increasingly changes to multidirectional, inclusive and network communication; (4) non-state actors' ascendance to “producers of diplomacy” from being “consumers of diplomacy” (Hocking et al., 2012: 10-23).

Kelley (2014) studied the same phenomenal paradigm shift or “agency change” in the area of diplomacy and made a bold argument that non-state actors are now NDAs, that is non-state diplomatic actors, beyond being new actors in public diplomacy. NDAs' actions which he categorizes as “agenda-setting,” “mobilizing” and “gatekeeping” lead to “disruption” of the traditional diplomacy and give way to “new diplomacy” (Kelley, 2014). He gives examples of NDAs' “diplomatic action beyond the state” to present his arguments which center on defining diplomatic actors based on “diplomacy of capabilities” as opposed to “diplomacy of status” (Kelley, 2014). NDAs do not have the legal “status” to represent their states as diplomats, but they have diplomatic “capabilities” and other sources of legitimate representation that make them actors in the field of diplomacy and “disrupt” the monopoly of state's “diplomacy of status” (Kelley, 2014; see also Rosenau, 1995b: 195; and Scholte, 2008: 55-56). In a similar vein, Jönsson (2008: 34) makes a “distinction between

representation as behaviour ('acting for others') and as status ('standing for others')." In an earlier article, Kelley (2010: 288) also prefers the term "behavior" as he explains the shift from "the age of diplomacy as an institution" to "an age of diplomacy as a behavior." Henrikson (2013: 120) compares representation based on "effectiveness," (see also La Porte, 2012a, 2012b) which is "getting the job done" to representation based on "expressiveness," or symbolic action which corresponds to "flying the flag." Even though they prefer different terms Kelley, Jönsson and Henrikson argue for defining diplomatic actions based on capabilities/behavior/effectiveness rather than based on status/expressiveness.

The sources of representation that give NGOs, and for that matter some other non-state actors, the "moral legitimacy" (Kelley, 2014: 25) include identification with, advocacy for and informed consent of the constituents (Kelley, 2014: 25, 77; Thrandardottir, 2015: 115; La Porte, 2012a, 2012b; Castells, 2008; Henrikson, 2013; Jönsson, 2008: 34-35); satisfaction of needs and fulfilling of wants of the constituents (Gregory, 2008: 245-249; Rosenau, 1995b: 195; 1992a: 4; La Porte, 2012a, 2012b; Henrikson, 2013); trust and credibility (Zaharna, 2010: 61-62; Riordan, 2008: 140; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 55-56); and specialized knowledge and expertise (Kramer, 1981: 232, 260-262; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 55-56).

However, it cannot be said that NGOs, and certain non-state actors, are fully representative of their societies as they lack "democratic legitimacy" and "internal democracy" (Riordan, 2008: 140; see also Anderson, 2000: 112-119; 2004: 29-31; Kelley, 2014: 25). In turn, NGOs, and these non-state actors, do not have accountability to public at large and often advocate particular interests only (Gregory, 2008: 248; Van Rooy, 1999: 183; Thrandardottir, 2015: 112; Mathews, 1997; 1998: 103; Gregory, 2011: 360; Kelley, 2014: 25, 110-111; Salamon,



1987: 40-41; 1994: 118-121). Sharp (1997) argues that diplomats' representation of their states has political significance beyond symbolic meaning and no profession, however capable they are thought to be, would be able to replace it and be as effective as diplomats.

Approaching representation in diplomacy from a 'capabilities' (Kelley, 2014) ('behavior' (Jönsson, 2008: 34; Kelley, 2010: 288) or 'effectiveness' (Henrikson, 2013; La Porte, 2012a, 2012b)) perspective as opposed to a 'status' perspective, it is safe to argue that states' exclusive monopoly on diplomatic activities, including public diplomacy activities, is shaken as non-state actors became more active and matter more in international and transnational affairs (Melissen, 2005a: 22-25; Payne, Sevin, and Bruya, 2011: 46; Ross, 2003: 22; Hocking et al., 2012: 10-23; Langhorne, 2005: 332-334; Vickers, 2004: 182-186; Saner, 2006: 102-103; Davenport, 2002; McConnell, Moreau, and Dittmer, 2012: 804-806; Rosenau, 1995b: 196-198; Mathews, 1997, 1998; Kelley, 2009: 73; Betsill and Corell, 2008; Arts, Noortmann, and Reinalda, 2001; Willetts, 2011: 114-143; Thakur, 2008: 293-297; Kelley, 2014, 2010; Gregory, 2011: 360; Castells, 2008: 87-89; Ronfeldt and Arquilla, 2009: 353; Signitzer and Wamser, 2009: 382; Kim, 2012b: 529). However, it is not to the point that non-state actors have become unit of analysis in the "inter-national" (Wendt, 1999: 353) system as Wendt (1999: 9) argues that "non-state actors are becoming more important than states as initiators of change, but system change ultimately happens *through* (emphasis in original) states." In a similar vein, Sending et al. (Sending, Pouliot, and Neumann, 2011: 657-658, 668-669) argue that non-state actors have become subject of governance in addition to long being an object as they ascended in "shaping and carrying out global governance-functions;" however this does not imply power transfer from the state to non-state actors in a zero-sum way, rather it is better explained by "political power operat[ing] through" civil society. Van Rooy (1999:

147) also suggests that the fact that diplomats increasingly work together with non-state actors “to get diplomatic jobs done” should be understood not as “a new kind of diplomacy,” but “simply” as “a diplomacy with a changed set of actors” (see also Murray, 2006: 303; Kleiner, 2008).

Indeed, non-state actors’ influence is rather on “low politics” such as public diplomacy compared to “high politics” such as security (Wiseman, 1999, 2010). Realists often overlook the importance of non-state actors in international affairs, but even the most prominent constructivist scholar Wendt excludes non-state actors from being treated as actors in the international system; and is criticized by fellow constructivists for that.<sup>5</sup> The discussions in this dissertation do not argue for a “system change,” (Wendt, 1999: 9) which is beyond the scope of this study, but rather the aim of this research project is limited to exploration of the relevance of NGOs, and for that matter other non-state actors, to diplomacy in general and public diplomacy in particular (see also Falk, 2005: 60).

Arts et al.’s (Arts, Noortmann, and Reinalda, 2001) book analyzes whether non-state actors matter in international relations, (1) affecting the outcomes and (2) “becoming institutionalized as relevant actors in international policy making.” In that book, Arts (2001b: 46-56) argues that (1) non-state actors are involved in policy coalitions more than ever; (2) non-state actors have become more powerful (influential) and more legitimate in the global arena; (3) the rules in global politics are pluralized in favor of non-state actors; (4) policy discourses are extended through the non-state actors’ inputs setting the agenda and altering the international political debates; and all of these changes leading to (5) a transition from

---

<sup>5</sup> For more on the criticisms of Wendt’s state-centric international system, see (Snidal, 2013: 107-109); for more on alternative perspectives on non-state actors’ role in diplomacy, see (Murray, 2006: 303-313).

“intergovernmental to transnational policy arrangements.”

Ronfeldt and Arquilla (2009: 353-357) contend that while the non-state actors and their transnational networks get strengthened and state-centric realpolitik gets weakened, there is a need to appreciate the more inclusive noopolitik, which is “an approach to statecraft, to be undertaken as much by nonstate as by state actors, that emphasizes the role of informational soft power in expressing ideas, values, norms, and ethics through all manner of media” but not an alternative to “uncompromisingly state-centric” realpolitik.

Castells (2008: 87-89) suggests that nation-states need to adapt to the changing context and evolve into the “network state, which is characterized by shared sovereignty and responsibility, flexibility of procedures of governance, and greater diversity in the relationship between governments and citizens in terms of time and space,” while the importance of “political representation” (i.e. status) gets weaker opening the way for new actors of “networks of governance.” Similarly, Melissen (2005a: 22-25) also argues that there is no returning back to the traditional state-centric diplomacy since non-state actors have already made their way to the core of diplomacy by setting “bread and butter” agendas and mobilizing at a “daunting” speed (see also Zaharna, 2007, 2010, 2013).

Making the long story short, the borders of diplomacy blurred and diplomatic action is highly decentralized and partially “relocated” to non-state actors such as NGOs, public intellectuals, celebrities, religious leaders and the private sector (Kelley, 2010: 293-296; Hocking, 2004: 149-150; Kelley, 2014: 19, 108; Rosenau, 1992b: 256; 1995b: 195).

The argument on capabilities in diplomacy, which is often assumed to be in the monopoly of states and require statecraft, can more easily be adapted to public diplomacy, which has

been inclusive of the publics and non-state actors from the beginning. By changing ‘diplomatic action’ to ‘public diplomacy’ in Kelley’s (2014: 101) statement, it can be said that “[public diplomacy] exists wherever its core capabilities are to be found, which requires extending the identification of [its actors] beyond simply who they are to include what they do.”

Similarly, based on Rosenau’s (1997: 146) argument of “purposeful nature of governance” over “the presence of hierarchy,” Gregory (2008: 245-246; 2006: 5-6) questions whether non-state actors’ activities similar to that of state’s public diplomacy activities should be named differently and he makes a case that the distinction based on the *subject* is difficult and definition of public diplomacy must be based on the *objectives* which he lists as “to understand, engage and influence global publics,” or elsewhere in a more updated article (Gregory, 2011: 355-361) as “understanding; planning; engagement; and advocacy.”

La Porte (2012a, 2012b) also asks the question whether public diplomacy should be defined by the subject who practices it or by the object of the action. She proposes that although traditionally defined by the subject, new public diplomacy should be defined by the object of the action; legitimacy, that is confidence and support from citizenry; and effectiveness; that is effective satisfaction of citizenry (La Porte, 2012a, 2012b). La Porte (2012a, 2012b) argues that minimally institutionalized non-state actors can do public diplomacy in their own right if they are pursuing certain political goals regardless of government direction. In order to differentiate public diplomacy from other forms of international communication, she suggests that the actor of public diplomacy should be minimally institutionalized and its objectives are political (La Porte, 2012a: 449; 2012b: 3). Van Doeveren (2011: 19) has a similar approach to public diplomacy recognizing non-state

actors' intentional practice of public diplomacy as "public diplomacy practice," but yet makes a distinction between "public diplomacy" which is "a component of national diplomatic practice" and "social diplomacy" which "refers to the activity that pursues public diplomacy goals but that moves beyond the confined limits of diplomats." In the literature of public diplomacy, there are indeed many other terms to refer to non-state actors' activities in the realm of public diplomacy such as "non-state diplomacy" (Kelley, 2014; Wiseman, 1999), "catalytic diplomacy" (Hocking, 1999), "people-to-people diplomacy" (d'Hooghe, 2007; Fouladvand, 2014; Korea Foundation, 2014; d'Hooghe, 2005; Kim, 2012b, 2012a; Schneider, 2009; Wang, 2012), "peer-to-peer diplomacy" (Attias, 2012), "citizen diplomacy" (Cull, 2009b; Mueller, 2009; Cull, 2010; Dal Bello, 2012; Leach, 2010; The Center for Citizen Diplomacy, 2014), "multistakeholder diplomacy" (Hocking, 2006; Kurbalija and Katrandjiev, 2006; Saner, 2006; Valencia, 2006), "track two diplomacy" (Diamond and McDonald, 1991; Diamond and McDonald, 1996; Kelley, 2014; Sundararaman, 2008), "paradiplomacy" (Aldecoa and Keating, 1999; McConnell, Moreau, and Dittmer, 2012), "polylateral diplomacy" (Melissen, 2011; Wiseman, 1999, 2010), "NGO diplomacy" (Auer and Srugies, 2013; Pahlavi, 2004; Betsill and Corell, 2008; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; Murray, 2006), "diaspora diplomacy" (Auer and Srugies, 2013; Rana, 2013; Trent, 2012a; Pahlavi, 2004; Lencucha, Kothari, and Labonté, 2011; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; Trent, 2012b; see also H. Li, 2011), "grassroots diplomacy" (Payne, 2009; Payne, Sevin, and Bruya, 2011), "faith diplomacy" (Marshall and Farr, 2009; Cevik, 2014; Leight, 2011; McConnell, Moreau, and Dittmer, 2012; Seib, 2013), "development diplomacy" (Saner, 2006; Trent, 2012b; see also DFAT, 2014), "corporate diplomacy" (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; L'Etang, 2009; Payne, 2009; Tang and Li, 2011; Macnamara, 2012;

Ordeix-Rigo and Duarte, 2009), “celebrity diplomacy” (Cooper, 2008b, 2008a), “movie (or Hollywood) diplomacy” (Fouladvand, 2014; Pahlavi, 2007), “sports diplomacy” (Kwon and Hong, 2014; Pahlavi, 2004) and above mentioned “social diplomacy” (Czubek, 2002; Sevin and Salcıgil White, 2011; van Doeveren, 2011).

These terms can be used to distinguish different types of –public- diplomacy, but as Gregory suggests, we might not need to exclude non-state actors’ activities from “public diplomacy,” and call them by different names particularly if we are to call them ‘something diplomacy’ in the end. In this dissertation thesis, above-cited concepts and others such as cultural diplomacy, culinary diplomacy (gastrodiplomacy) and knowledge diplomacy are regarded as branches of the encompassing public diplomacy tree given that they are in the boundaries of the objective-based working definition of public diplomacy, which is detailed in Section 3.1.1.

McDowell (2008: 8), on the other hand, argues that for public diplomacy “to be diplomacy, it has to entail a role for the state... working with civil society partners, funding, coordinating, and/or directing” while accepting that ‘public’ means the people rather than the state since public diplomacy “takes place in public.” He acknowledges that similar activities take place without government direction, but insists that conceptually they cannot be called public diplomacy without overall government direction for particular goals (McDowell, 2008: 10). McDowell sees non-state actors as merely outsources of public diplomacy which is directed by governments. Similarly, Golan (2014: 417) emphasizes the subject rather than the objectives and his “definition of public diplomacy is government based” as he regards “government as the primary organization and foreign publics as the primary publics.” Brown (2013a) also believes that public diplomacy “is the way that it is because it is done by states,”

and he does not regard non-state actors as new actors in public diplomacy “unless they are acting on behalf of states.”

While Gregory, LaPorte and McDowell regards ‘public’ in public diplomacy as the people who are addressed, Castells (2008: 91) contends that “public diplomacy is the diplomacy of the public, that is, the projection in international arena of the values of the public;” and by “*the public*,” (emphasis in original) he means “what is common to a given social organization that transcends the private.” In other words, he regards ‘public’ as the subject of public diplomacy, but contrary to traditional state-centric subject-based approach, he has a more encompassing understanding of *the public* which incorporates non-state actors that represent the interests of people in the public sphere. He argues that since there is no need for a new term to call traditional practices of diplomacy, public diplomacy is not government diplomacy (Castells, 2008: 91). Public diplomacy for Castells (2008: 91) “seeks to build a public sphere in which diverse voices can be heard in spite of their various origins, distinct values, and often contradictory interests.” This kind of public sphere would act as “communication space in which a new, common language could emerge as a precondition for diplomacy” (Castells, 2008: 91). In a similar vein, Henrikson (2013: 12-13) argue that individual citizens also can legitimately engage in public diplomacy and represent their countries due to “a shift, gradual but increasingly noticeable, from the sovereign State as the sole representative of the ‘nation’ to the individual, personal Self—the irreducible unit of which societies are made.”

The author of this dissertation thesis believes that public diplomacy should be defined from a ‘capabilities’ perspective and an objective-based approach. Public diplomacy can have various objectives from advocacy to promotion of universal values which are

elaborated below in Chapter 3.2 in detail. Non-state actors that have these objectives, in addition to state agencies, are doing public diplomacy intentionally and directly as other scholars have argued. In short, those non-state actors are legitimate public diplomacy actors in their own right. Their public diplomacy agenda reflects aggregate interests of some part of the society since “the state does not monopolize the public sphere” (Peterson, 1992: 375). In Rosenau’s (1992a: 4) words some non-state actors “move ahead to satisfy [people’s] needs and fulfill their wants.”

However, in the case of some non-state actors, their engagement in public diplomacy is rather unintentional as they contribute to public diplomacy outcomes of others (e.g. their home countries) unintentionally (for a similar argument, see van Doeveren, 2011: 19). In other words, some non-state actors do not have public diplomacy agendas and are not doing public diplomacy; but their objectives or outcomes of their activities overlap with some public diplomacy objectives and therefore their activities have significance for and are relevant to public diplomacy.

Therefore, it can be argued that setting the boundaries of public diplomacy based on the objectives of the actors is also not enough to see the full picture. Unintentional public diplomacy outcomes of some non-state actors offer untapped potential for more effective public diplomacy. It is posited that non-state actors’ contributions can be understood only when public diplomacy outcomes of their activities -for whatever initial objective they have in mind- are taken into account.

This study aims to demonstrate non-state actors’, particularly NGOs’, potential for public diplomacy by incorporating non-state actors that contribute to public diplomacy outcomes as public diplomacy actors in their own right, and also as partners (collaboration or contractor)



of state agencies and as unintentional contributors. ‘Contribution to public diplomacy’ is subjective; and depends on the angle one looks at the activities. For example, a non-state actor may claim that its opposition to certain foreign policies of its government is in the interests of the general public in its country; while the government would argue just the opposite.

‘The interests of general public’ or ‘national interests’ are also subjective and depend on the perspective one takes. For example, the government in a country can claim that its policies are in the interests of the public, constituting the national interests, even though it may only represent the interests of the ruling elite such as maintaining its rule (Yan, 2002: 9). There is no objective standard to assess and decide which activities of non-state actors can be considered ‘contribution to public diplomacy’ of home country and hence in ‘the interests of the general public’ in that country. Any standard would be subjective. This study follows Ronfeldt and Arquilla’s (2009: 357) understanding of “society wide” national interests, which as they argue “should be defined more in society-wide than state-centric terms and be fused with broader, even global, interests in enhancing the transnationally networked ‘fabric’ in which the players are embedded” (see also Hemery, 2005: 203-206).

Building on this definition, the standard that is applied to decide whether one activity can be considered ‘contribution to public diplomacy’ and/or is in ‘the interests of general public’ in this research is based on the working definition of public diplomacy and the analytical framework, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Guided by the definition and the analytical framework, the researcher (myself or any other researcher that is guided by this analytical framework) has to decide whether one activity can be considered ‘contribution to public diplomacy’ giving adequate reasoning. It can be ambiguous for the researcher also to

decide whether certain activities can be considered ‘contribution to public diplomacy’ because of the suspicions associated with the activity. Then, the researcher can give the reasons as to why it is ambiguous and why there are suspicions and leave it to the reader to decide whether those activities can be considered ‘contribution to public diplomacy.’ This is the approach taken in this research. However, it should be reiterated that a non-state actor’s ‘contribution to public diplomacy,’ which is evaluated by the outcomes of their activities, does not necessarily mean that they are doing public diplomacy which is distinguished by the objectives (or agenda) of the respective non-state actor. In short, some non-state actors may be relevant to public diplomacy by having potential for public diplomacy objectives and outcomes, but are not public diplomacy actors in their own right if they do not have public diplomacy agenda.

Prior research does not clearly categorize the activities of non-state actors in the realm of public diplomacy. What is regarded as ‘unintentional contributions to public diplomacy’ in this research are discussed as non-state public diplomacy in most significant public diplomacy works (see e.g. Gilboa, 2008; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; Melissen, 2005a; Nye, 2004, 2008a; Riordan, 2005). They refer to non-state public diplomacy on the surface without providing details and the standards (or frameworks) that make non-state actors’ activities non-state public diplomacy. This research incorporates non-state actors into public diplomacy analysis and distinguishes between non-state actors that have public diplomacy agenda, contractors of state agencies and unintentional contributors. Non-state actors’ relevance to public diplomacy is different in each case as this research project presents below.

The latest trend –or process of evolution– in the study and –normative– practice of public

diplomacy is “a connective mindshift” (Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013a) towards relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy as mentioned above. New public diplomacy is discussed from relational and network dimensions for long-term sustainable public diplomacy outcomes. The importance of dialogue, mutuality and shared interests in relational dynamics of public diplomacy is covered widely. Zaharna et al. (2013a: 1-7) argue that relational strategies are not “public diplomacy add-on” but a “core imperative” due to the complex, multidirectional and interconnected nature of the “network society” (Castells, 1996, 2010, 2004b) that requires genuine dialogue and collaboration to solve common problems. In the literature that analyzed relational dynamics of public diplomacy, non-state actors in general, NGOs in particular, are discussed as having better potential in relational and long-term public diplomacy (see e.g. Copeland, 2009; Cabral et al., 2014; Simons, 2014; Cowan and Arsenault, 2008; Fisher, 2009; Fitzpatrick, 2007, 2010, 2012; Fitzpatrick, Fullerton, and Kendrick, 2013; Gilboa, 2008; Golan, Yang, and Kinsey, 2015; Hocking, 2005; Kelley, 2010; Nye, 2004, 2008a; Pamment, 2014; Riordan, 2004, 2005; Melissen, 2005a: 11-16; Sevin, 2014; Snow and Taylor, 2009; Zaharna, 2009; Snow, 2010: 91-92; Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013b). The literature on relational public diplomacy is elaborated in detail in Chapter 3.4.1.

Furthermore, the environment that both state agencies and non-state actors operate and do public diplomacy activities have become more complex, more interdependent and becoming more network-centric, relatively more horizontal and more inclusive of the emerging non-state actors. The recent literature has applied network theories to public diplomacy in order to keep public diplomacy practice up-to-date in a changing environment (see e.g. Brown, 2010, 2012; Zaharna, 2010; Fisher, 2010, 2013a; Fitzpatrick, 2012; Lord, 2010; Zaharna,

2007; Fisher, 2009; Hocking, 2005; Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013b; Melissen, 2005b: 11-16; Simons, 2014; Snow, 2010: 91-92). Literature on network dynamics of public diplomacy is elaborated in detail in Chapter 3.4.2. Based on the relational and network dynamics of public diplomacy, which leave both state agencies and non-state actors inadequate, there has been calls for collaborative public diplomacy (see e.g. Cowan and Arsenault, 2008; Hocking et al., 2012; Hudson, 2009; Fitzpatrick, 2010; Saner, 2006; Huijgh, 2011; Riordan, 2005; Kim, 2014, 2015; Hocking, 2005, 2004; Fisher, 2008; Mueller, 2009; Fisher, 2013b, 2013a; Hocking, 2008; Ogawa, 2013; Trent, 2012b, 2012a; Zaharna, 2010, 2011a, 2012a; Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013b). On the other hand, giving similar reasons other scholars call for collaboration, Pigman and Deos (2008) call for privatizing or outsourcing state's public diplomacy functions to private PR firms that are expert "not only [in] the methods and techniques of public relations but also [in] the process of working directly with external public relations and political communications" (Pigman and Deos, 2008: 87). Literature on collaborative public diplomacy is also discussed in detail in Chapter 3.4.3 and 3.4.4.

#### **2.1.4. Non-State Public Diplomacy**

There is near consensus in the literature on new public diplomacy that non-state actors are relevant to public diplomacy and there is need for collaborative public diplomacy. Some scholars regard non-state actors as important partners in state-centric public diplomacy (see e.g. Golan, 2014; Fouts and Thomas, 2005; Attias, 2012; Pahlavi, 2004; Wang, 2006a; McDowell, 2008), while some others treat them as independent actors in their own right (see

e.g. Gregory, 2011; Huijgh, 2011, 2012; Byrne, 2009; Zaharna, 2007; Melissen, 2011; Kim, 2014; Snow, 2008; Kelley, 2010; La Porte, 2012b; Zatepilina, 2010). However, most authors do not discuss in detail the non-state actors' relevance to public diplomacy (i.e. why and how non-state actors do activities in the realm of public diplomacy), rather they only present some examples and observations of non-state public diplomacy. Non-state actors, particularly NGOs, are recognized and analyzed on the surface without much empirical support and in-depth exploration. The studies that empirically explore non-state public diplomacy are very few. This is understandable since public diplomacy is still state-centric almost all over the world. As such, state-centric public diplomacy attracts more attention. In this section, some of the public diplomacy literature that analyzed non-state actors, particularly NGOs, rather more in-depth are introduced. The other references to NGOs' and other non-state actors' role in public diplomacy in the literature are discussed throughout the dissertation.

Zatepilina's research (Zatepilina, 2009, 2010; Zatepilina-Monacell, 2012, 2015) is based on the propositions that non-state actors (i.e. NGOs in the case study) have stake in the reputation/standing of their "country-of-origin" and there is room for non-state actors' "agency" of the "state identity." Through NGOs' agency of "state identity," in addition to other agencies, foreign relations are affected even though it is very limited; and NGOs have an impact on the country reputation/ standing, even more than the state agencies (Zatepilina, 2010). Zatepilina's research is so far the most extensive and in-depth empirical study on the non-state public diplomacy and her conceptual framework establishes the ground for further exploration of non-state public diplomacy. However, her cases include only NGOs which are regarded as unintentional contributors in my study, and no NGOs with public diplomacy agenda. This selection makes sense for her research goals which focus on relationship-

building and country reputation. Moreover, all of the selected NGOs are U.S. NGOs.

Trent (2012b, 2012a) explored American public diplomacy towards Lebanon from a networked cross-sector governance perspective. In her study, she reflected the perspectives of American state officials related to public diplomacy, Lebanese diaspora in the U.S. and other Lebanese stakeholders including Lebanese diplomats and local staff at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. Trent's study is an extensive multistakeholder analysis of relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy. She presents different views of 77 interviewees, who have different backgrounds and varying approaches to American public diplomacy towards Lebanon. Her study's findings include that (1) the designation of Hizbullah as a terrorist organization in the U.S. precludes engagement and collaboration with some key Lebanese diaspora stakeholders in the U.S.; 2) the mutual interests between the U.S. and Lebanon can be strengthened by cross-cultural exchanges and joint administration of public-private partnership initiatives; 3) and more active engagement of Lebanese diaspora to facilitate new political space to mediate conflict and to pursue cultural and socioeconomic initiatives for mutual benefits (Trent, 2012b). Trent's study is a single case study with a focus on one country's (i.e. the U.S.) public diplomacy towards another country (i.e. Lebanon), yet it sheds light on the importance of the interests of diaspora communities and foreign stakeholders in public diplomacy programs and makes a case for networked cross-sector governance, collaboration and stakeholder engagement in conducting public diplomacy initiatives.

Attias' (2012) article on "Israel's peer-to-peer diplomacy" shows two initiatives of Israel's Ministry of Public Diplomacy and Diaspora Affairs that involve Israeli citizens and Jewish diaspora not only as mediums of state-centric public diplomacy initiatives but also as co-

producers of collaborative initiatives. The Ministry is one of the first ministries in the world that primarily deal with public diplomacy and also one of the frontrunners in identifying the “built-in disadvantages” of state agencies in doing public diplomacy such as lack of “financial, human and structural resources,” credibility and “advocates and promoters of their policies ‘on the ground’ ” (Attias, 2012: 474-475). A survey among Israeli citizens and Jewish diaspora was conducted to identify potential domestic public diplomacy partners; to find out the most urgent problems related to Israel’s image in the world; and to design programs to improve Israel’s image in the world in collaboration with the domestic public and Jewish diaspora (Attias, 2012: 475-476). Two “peer-to-peer diplomacy” initiatives were designed based on the survey to empower Israeli citizens and Jewish diaspora as the civilian public diplomats. Firstly, ‘Presenting Israel 2010’ aimed to tap unrealized potential of more than three million Israeli citizens and diaspora who go to other countries every year and engage foreigners to improve Israeli’s image in the world. Secondly, ‘Faces of Israel’ aimed to promote Israel’s “diversity, tolerance, openness and authenticity” interpersonally “in cooperation with regular and diverse Israelis, not ‘diplomats in suits’ ” (Attias, 2012: 477-481).<sup>6</sup> Even though what Israel needs to do to improve its image in the world can be argued to be far beyond “peer-to-peer diplomacy” and nation-branding campaigns, these initiatives show the vision of new public diplomacy which needs to be increasingly relational and collaborative –involving non-state actors- in a networked world. It is also noteworthy that the author of that article, Attias, was “the founder and Head of the Public Diplomacy Department at Israel’s (new) Ministry of Public Diplomacy and Diaspora Affairs” at the time of its publication, and not a civilian independent commentator (Attias, 2012: 482).

---

<sup>6</sup> See Voluntary Agency Network of Korea (VANK)’s activities in Chapter 5 for how similar projects are done by non-state initiatives.

Zhang and Swartz (2009) explored the effectiveness of a U.S. NGO in delivering international news to foreign audiences from a public diplomacy perspective. The NGOs' guiding values that have an impact on its perceived effectiveness include the NGO's independence from the U.S. government and its relative objectivity and balance (Zhang and Swartz, 2009: 51). Furthermore, the other factors that also had an impact on the effectiveness of the international news delivery of the NGO include the NGO's utilization of local editors and journalists as decision-makers, the active use of Internet, limited access to internet or censorship by national governments on internet, vision of the executives of the NGO, employment of a dialogic approach, strict reliance on nongovernmental funding and targeting of foreign elite opinion leaders as opposed to mass public (Zhang and Swartz, 2009: 51-53). Due to these factors, the authors concluded that the NGO's international news are perceived to be more effective compared to the government-sponsored news programs "in terms of reaching target audiences, particularly elite audiences, and also in terms of return on investment" (Zhang and Swartz, 2009: 53).

Taylor and Kent (2013) argue for collaboration between state agencies and like-minded foreign non-state actors for long-term public diplomacy outcomes. They contend that shared values such as human rights and democracy facilitate creation of social capital between the host state agencies and the foreign NGOs which in turn help achieving public diplomacy outcomes such as democratization (Taylor and Kent, 2013). Taylor and Kent's (2013: 110-114) data about U.S. and European support of Croatian NGOs confirm their propositions as the supported Croatian NGOs have become influential in Croatian society in terms of playing pivotal roles in "election reform, human rights, environmental protection, and voter education" even after the U.S. and European support has ended. This research is particularly



significant as it discusses democratization and human rights, which are beyond national interests (of the U.S. and European countries in this case), as public diplomacy objectives.

Gilboa (2000) established a model, called “the nonstate transnational variant,” to study non-state public diplomacy, but restricted his model to the study of utilization of global media by non-Western non-state actors to reach out to the influential opinion leaders particularly in the West. This model is limited to mediated public diplomacy and can only study limited goals such as transnational advocacy.

The reviewed literature justifies the importance of non-state actors to public diplomacy and calls for more in-depth exploration of non-state actors’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy. Particularly, empirical studies that are introduced above provide readers with better understanding of non-state public diplomacy compared to studies which only mention non-state actors’ importance without going deep into details.

Non-state public diplomacy needs studies on (1) different non-state actors such as NGOs, corporations, academic institutes, intergovernmental organizations, influential individuals, religious organizations and epistemic communities; (2) different contexts such as different countries and different cultures; (3) different analytical focus such as development, global governance, nation-branding, democratization, relationship-building and collaboration with governments; (4) different methodological approaches such as quantitative, qualitative and comparative studies. This is just an illustrative example of possible studies on non-state public diplomacy and not meant to be an exhaustive list. Considering a matrix of these possibilities, this field is apparently underexplored. Any empirical study on non-state public diplomacy would contribute to better understanding of it and establishment of more solid ground for more extensive future research.

The former empirical researches on non-state public diplomacy shed light on the rather darker area of public diplomacy, which is non-state public diplomacy. However, most non-state public diplomacy literature clusters on the U.S. and other Western cases. Furthermore, most case studies focus on non-state actors who do not have an explicit public diplomacy agenda. Studies on relational, network and collaborative dimensions of public diplomacy are even rarer. Most importantly, we lack analytical tools to explore non-state public diplomacy. This research project aims at plugging these four gaps in the literature with this dissertation.

Next chapter aims at developing an analytical framework to study NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy, while the fifth and sixth chapters are concerned with empirical exploration of the selected NGOs' activities, motivation and collaboration with state agencies in the realm of public diplomacy.

## **2.2. Research Problem**

Traditionally, diplomacy was regarded in the domination of states. However, it is widely accepted that non-state actors, including NGOs, increasingly engage in track 1.5 and track II diplomacy and people-to-people diplomacy. There are various non-state actors that can be considered relevant to these branches of diplomacy, but this study focuses on the NGOs. Exploring understudied area of NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy is needed to better understand and maximally utilize the potential NGOs have for more effective public diplomacy outcomes. For this reason, this research project attempts to answer the questions of why and how NGOs do –or contribute to- public diplomacy. Furthermore, why and how

collaboration takes place between state agencies and NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy are also explored to find out how NGOs' potential can be realized to maximize the public diplomacy outcomes. Exploration of why there is a need for collaboration with the NGOs and the activities and contributions of the NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy can lead us to suggest how to maximally utilize NGOs' potential for more effective public diplomacy. Moreover, the analysis of the question how collaboration takes place helps us understand what kind of collaboration can potentially better maximize utilization of NGOs' advantages.

### **3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

The main purpose of this dissertation thesis is to explore the potential NGOs have for more effective and long-term public diplomacy and in turn to suggest how this potential can be utilized. In other words, this research project explores the unrealized potential of non-state actors in public diplomacy and suggests why and how collaboration take place –or can normatively take place- between state agencies and non-state actors in the realm of public diplomacy to utilize that potential. It is argued that non-state actors’ unrealized potential in public diplomacy and the reasoning behind state-non-state collaboration can be found through an analytical framework that bring together (1) public diplomacy frameworks of Leonard et al. (2002), Gilboa (2008) and Zaharna (2009) (section 3.3); (2) public relations and dialogue theories of relational public diplomacy (section 3.4.1); (3) social network theory (section 3.4.2); (4) and theories of government-nonprofit relations (section 3.4.3). The question of how collaboration takes –or can take- place between state agencies and non-state actors can be analyzed using a typology of collaboration (section 3.4.4).

In this chapter, non-state actors are conceptualized as actors, partners and contributors in public diplomacy; and a working definition of public diplomacy is offered building on these discussions. Then, public diplomacy dimensions of Leonard (2002) and Gilboa’s (2008) framework for analysis –an advanced version of Leonard’s dimensions- are combined with Zaharna’s (2009) communication frameworks and expanded to explore non-state actors’ relevance to different public diplomacy initiatives and objectives. In the next section, building on the discussion on public diplomacy dimensions, an analytical framework for

relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy is developed. This analytical framework explores *why* (Table 2) state agencies and non-state actors collaborate –or normatively should collaborate- for public diplomacy initiatives based on the public diplomacy literature and other related academic fields such as public relations, social network and government-nonprofit relations. In the last part of the analytical framework, a typology of collaboration (Table 3) between state agencies and non-state actors is developed and a normative approach to collaboration is suggested for more effective public diplomacy. This part analyzes *how* (Table 3) state agencies and non-state actors collaborate –or normatively should collaborate- for public diplomacy initiatives.

### **3.1. Conceptualization**

Some concepts that are critical to this research project are conceptualized in this section. These concepts are non-state actors, NGOs, civil society, public goods, global civil society, global public goods and collaboration between state agencies and non-state actors. Their relevance to public diplomacy are elaborated throughout the dissertation. Furthermore, other concepts that are not discussed in this section are also introduced in the relevant parts of the dissertation.

#### **3.1.1. Non-State Actors**

This research project's focus is on non-state actors, particularly NGOs. There is a need to clarify what is meant by 'non-state actors' throughout this dissertation. Before elaborating on non-state actors, it should be noted that 'state' or 'state agencies' in this dissertation are used interchangeably and refer to all agencies and institutions of the state function including central government, ministries, embassies, municipalities, local governments, aid institutions and cultural centers.

Reinalda (2001: 13-15) categorizes non-state actors as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), corporations and inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). Arts (2003: 5) adds epistemic communities and a general category to this definition and questions inclusion of IGOs as non-state actors. One common denominator of these broad categories is that they are not representatives of states. In the literature, non-state actors are conceptualized as those that are relevant to international relations and operate at the international level (including transnational) (Arts, 2003: 5; Arts, Noortmann, and Reinalda, 2001; Reinalda, 2001: 13). In the case of analyzing non-state actors' role in public diplomacy, this definition can be relaxed to include influential individuals (e.g. celebrities, opinion leaders), formal and informal nongovernmental entities (e.g. university bodies, informal communities) that operate at the international level and relevant to public diplomacy and not necessarily to international relations (for a similar argument, see Wiseman, 2010). However, particular focus in this research project is on NGOs that operate on an international level and create public diplomacy outcomes either intentionally or unintentionally. Therefore, the discussions below are most relevant to NGOs, but can be modified and applied to other non-state actors too.

### 3.1.2. NGOs and Civil Society

There are very different and contending definitions, conceptualizations and typologies of NGOs in the literature.<sup>7</sup> What brings together various organizations under the name “nongovernmental organization (NGO)” is indeed a negative commonality that they share rather than a positive one which is that they are literally not government organizations (Vakil, 1997: 2058; Arts, 2003: 5; Salamon, 1999: xvii). This research project follows the widely accepted “ ‘structural-operational’ definition” for nonprofit organizations (NPO) that is suggested by Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNSP) (Salamon and Anheier, 1992: 1) and also used by the UN (UN, 2003: 16):

- (i) Organizations, that is, institutionalized to some extent;
- (ii) Private, that is, institutionally separate from government;
- (iii) Non-profit-distributing, that is, not returning profits generated to their owners or directors;
- (iv) Self-governing, that is, able to control their own activities;
- (v) Voluntary, that is, non-compulsory and involving some meaningful degree of voluntary participation.

Civil society, which is sometimes referred to as the nonprofit sector or the third sector (i.e. other than the public sector and private sector) (Salamon, 1999: xvii; 2010: 168), is defined

---

<sup>7</sup> For an overview of definitions and typologies of nonprofit organizations, see for example (Salamon and Anheier, 1992; Salamon et al., 1999; Salamon, 2010; Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Teegen, Doh, and Vachani, 2004; Vakil, 1997; Zatepilina, 2010).

by UN as “a voluntary sector made up of freely and formally associating individuals pursuing non-profit purposes in social movements, religious bodies, women and youth groups, indigenous peoples’ organizations, professional associations, unions, etc.” (UN, 2006: 3). Civil society organizations include, but not limited to

hospitals, universities, social clubs, professional organizations, day care centers, grassroots development organizations, health clinics, environmental groups, family counseling agencies, self-help groups, religious congregations, sports clubs, job training centers, human rights organizations, community associations, soup kitchens, homeless shelters, and many more (Salamon, 2010: 168).

Even though differences exist among the concepts, for the purposes of this research project, the concepts nonprofit organizations (NPO), nongovernmental organizations (NGO) and civil society organizations are considered in the boundaries of above criteria and used interchangeably throughout this dissertation following Salamon’s practice (Salamon, 2010: 169 footnote 1). Non-state actors that is conceptualized above include but not limited to NGOs. This research project’s focus is on the NGOs, but when the discussion is relevant to non-state actors in general, the concept non-state actors are preferred to NPOs, NGOs or civil society organizations.

Furthermore, because this research project is concerned with NGOs’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy, only the relevant NGOs are studied as cases. The relevant NGOs are grouped roughly into two categories following World Bank’s (Malena, 1995: 14) typology of NGOs: “(i) operational NGOs whose primary purpose is the design and implementation of development-related projects, and; (ii) advocacy NGOs-whose primary purpose is to defend or promote a specific cause and who seek to influence the policies and practices of”



other organizations including the state. In this research project, the term ‘development NGOs’ is preferred to ‘operational NGOs’ without a difference in the meaning.

Furthermore, another comparison of NGOs made in this dissertation is between the faith-inspired NGOs and the secular NGOs. Faith-inspired NGOs are defined as the non-state actors that derive their inspiration from faith, but not necessarily religious or have faith central to their activities.<sup>8</sup> The term faith-inspired NGOs is preferred to faith-based or religious NGOs. That is because, none of the selected NGOs are religious NGOs in the sense that they have religious activities.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the term faith-based was also not preferred, since it is defined as “non-state actors that have a central religious or faith core to their philosophy, membership, or programmatic approach, although they are not simply missionaries” (Dicklitch and Rice, 2004: 662). Some of the selected NGOs are inspired by their faith while their organizational characteristics and activities are rather more secular, particularly in Turkish context. Bodakowski et al. (Bodakowski, Marshall, and Singha, 2009: 77) make a similar argument for preference of the term “faith-inspired” over “faith-based organization” in Indian context. The term faith-inspired NGOs is chosen as a more inclusive concept that encompass religious and faith-based NGOs while the latter two concepts could have excluded some of the selected NGOs which are inspired by faith but not necessarily have “a central religious or faith core to their philosophy, membership, or programmatic approach” (Dicklitch and Rice, 2004: 662). In short, not all faith-inspired NGOs are religious or faith-based. Throughout the dissertation, there are references to religious NGOs or faith-

---

<sup>8</sup> See also (Thaut, 2009: 333)’s accommodative-humanitarianism in her typology of Christian faith-based organizations: “has religious roots, but its operations are not designed to fulfill a religious agenda.”

<sup>9</sup> SGI can be regarded a religious NGO if the term is loosely applied, because of Buddhism’s place in its mission.

based NGOs when necessary, but they are simultaneously regarded as faith-inspired NGOs, since the latter term is inclusive of the former two.<sup>10</sup>

### **3.1.3. Public Goods**

In economics, public goods are defined as non-rivalrous, in the sense that one's consumption does not reduce the benefits of consumption to others, and non-excludable, in the sense that one's consumption does not prevent others from consuming it (Hudson and Jones, 2005: 60; Kaul, Grunberg, and Stern, 1999b: xix-xxi; Samuelson, 1954). This is an ideal definition excluding almost all goods and services in reality; and both criteria (i.e. non-rivalrous and non-excludable) need to be loosely applied or relaxed to better operationalize the concept in reality (Hudson and Jones, 2005: 60; Morrell, 2009: 542-543).

Even though public goods are often discussed with a concentration on service delivery, it is widely accepted that public goods can also include “democratic values, representation, citizenship, social capital, a sense of belonging (solidarity), community values and social integration” (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002: 15). Considering the “collective benefits” (Fisher and Lucas, 2011: 2; Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013a: 7; see also Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 9) of potential public diplomacy outcomes, which are discussed in the Working Definition of Public Diplomacy section, there is no reason to exclude public

---

<sup>10</sup> For a fuller discussion on faith-based or faith-inspired NGOs, see for example (Bodakowski, Marshall, and Singha, 2009; Wuthnow, 2006; Seib, 2013; Candland, 2000; Clarke, 2006; Davis et al., 2011; Dicklitch and Rice, 2004; Ferris, 2005; Leight, 2011; Marshall and Farr, 2009; Musso, Kitsuse, and Cooper, 2002; Thaut, 2009).

diplomacy from this broader definition of public goods -or at least “local public goods” which are distinguished by geographical limitation of some public goods (Stiglitz, 1977)-.

### **3.1.4. Global Civil Society and Global Public Goods**

Global civil society can be defined as “vast, interconnected, and multi-layered social space that comprises many hundreds of thousands of self-directing or non-governmental institutions and ways of life” (Keane, 2001: 23).<sup>11</sup> For the purposes of this research, ‘global civil society’ is not suggested as an ambitious, ideological or a normative concept, but rather used to reflect a social reality (Anheier, Glasius, and Kaldor, 2001: 4) and can be used interchangeably with rather less ambitious concepts such as international civil society (Anderson and Rieff, 2004: 30) or transnational civil society (Anheier, Glasius, and Kaldor, 2001: 16; Price, 1998, 2003; Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 33-34).

Global public goods are the public goods (i.e. non-rivalrous and non-excludable) “whose benefits reach across borders, generations and population groups” (Kaul, Grunberg, and Stern, 1999b: xxi). Stiglitz (1999: 310) argues that while some public goods are limited in terms of geography, i.e. the “local public goods” (for more, see Stiglitz, 1977), global public goods are not as much limited as he lists five kinds of such global public goods: “international economic stability, international security (political stability), the

---

<sup>11</sup> For more on global civil society, see for example (Anderson and Rieff, 2004; Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 32-34; Kaldor, 2003; Castells, 2008; Lipschutz, 1992; Turner, 1998; Scholte, 1999; Salamon et al., 1999; Salamon, 1999; Lipschutz, 2000; Anheier, Glasius, and Kaldor, 2001; Taylor, 2005; Bartelson, 2006; Walker and Thompson, 2008; van Seters, 2008; Benessaieh, 2011; Mitrani, 2013).

international environment, international humanitarian assistance, and knowledge” (for more, see Stiglitz, 1995).<sup>12</sup> This non-exhaustive list can be extended to cover more global issues. Public diplomacy’s objectives and outcomes, which are discussed in the next section, beyond nations can also be considered global public goods. The relation between global public goods and public diplomacy is discussed in the Networked Public Diplomacy and NGOs section.

### **3.1.5. Collaboration between State Agencies and Non-State Actors**

There can be four different types of collaboration in public diplomacy: 1) between state agencies of state A and state B; 2) between state A’s agencies and public of state B; 3) between publics of state A and state B; and 4) between state A and public of state A (Kim, Taehwan, personal communication, 15 September 2015). The fourth type is often referred to as public-private partnership (PPP). The collaborative public diplomacy and collaboration that is discussed in this research project is the fourth type, which is PPP.

## **3.2. Definition and Actors of Public Diplomacy**

---

<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed discussion of global public goods, see (Kaul, 2001; Kaul, Grunberg, and Stern, 1999a; Stiglitz, 1995; Nye, 2008b; Kaul, 2012; Kaul et al., 2003; Sandler, 2004).

### 3.2.1. Working Definition of Public Diplomacy

Based on the discussions above, an objective-based definition of public diplomacy is required for building an analytical framework for public diplomacy which would incorporate non-state actors' activities not only as actors of public diplomacy but also as intentional or unintentional contributors to public diplomacy.<sup>13</sup> In this dissertation thesis, the objective-based working definition found on literature is as follows:

public diplomacy is a tool used by state agencies and/or non-state actors to reach objectives such as:

- 1- Cultivation of public opinion to directly or indirectly influence foreign policy decisions of governments<sup>14</sup> (Delaney, 1968: 3; McClellan, 2004; Cull, 2008: 32-33; Gregory, 2008: 243; Malone, 1985: 199; Signitzer and Coombs, 1992; The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, 2002; Coombs and Holladay, 2010: 299; Cull, 2012: 2; Korean MOFA, 2010; KDK, 2010); agenda-setting of governments and/or international organizations, and mobilization of people and actions for a cause (Gregory, 2011: 353; Kelley, 2012, 2014).
- 2- Complementing and reinforcing other foreign policy objectives (e.g. security and economy) (Comptroller General, 1979: 1; DFAT, 2014; McClellan, 2004; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 12; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2002: 6; KDK, 2010; Korean MOFA, 2010: 10).

---

<sup>13</sup> See (Creswell, 2014: 125) for working definitions.

<sup>14</sup> Acting transnationally or internationally, some non-state actors may try to influence foreign policy decisions of government of its home country too. More about this is discussed below.

- 3- Promotion of a country's culture, language, history, values, ideas, ideals, institutions, goals, interests, economy, brands and discourses (or promotion of a politically motivated minimally institutionalized non-state actor's values, ideas, interests, discourses etc.) to reduce misperceptions and misunderstandings, to increase familiarity and appreciation, to cultivate better image and reputation, to satisfy prestige and pride (Rasmussen, 2009: 10; Castells, 2008: 91; Japanese MOFA, 2014; Tuch, 1990: 3, 26-27; DFAT, 2014; Wang, 2006a: 43; Fitzpatrick, 2010; Ogawa, 2013: 118; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2002: 3; KDK, 2010; Cull, 2012: 2; Cowan and Cull, 2008; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 9; L'Etang, 2011: 241; Coombs and Holladay, 2010: 299); to create an international environment for personal safety of constituents (Gregory, 2008: 255); to attract more tourists and more FDI (Ayhan, 2010; Elaeva, 2011); and to improve nation branding and brand equity of national companies (Han, Chang, and Hwang, 2008; Anholt, 2007; Szondi, 2008; Kunczik, 1997; Nye, 2004; Anholt, 2002; Ayhan, 2010; Jung, 2006; Kim, 2002; Park, 2009; Yagi, 2003, 2008; Yoo, 2007).
- 4- Building relationships with foreign stakeholders, particularly opinion leaders, to cultivate trust; engaging with them to foster dialogue and mutual understanding (Fitzpatrick, 2010: 89; Ross, 2003: 27; Wang, 2006a: 43; Signitzer and Coombs, 1992: 140; Ogawa, 2013: 118; Ross, 2002; Kelley, 2009); listening to them to understand their interests and needs (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 9; Cull, 2008: 33, 36; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2002: 3; Japanese MOFA, 2014; Cull, 2012: 2); to learn from them and expand self's vision (Gangadean and Swidler, 2000) and creating social capital (Taylor and Kent, 2013: 105).

- 5- Pursuing peace and harmony beyond national interests through universal values and global governance (Kim, 2012b; Gregory, 2008; Rembe, 2014; Korean MOFA, 2010: 10; Kojima, 2014; Castells, 2008: 91).

This list is not an exhaustive list of all public diplomacy objectives. Furthermore, public diplomacy actors –state or non-state- may not have all of these objectives and/or may not regard different objectives with the same priority level. In other words, these are possible, non-exhaustive, objectives state or non-state actors may pursue as they use public diplomacy.

It is argued earlier that non-state actors that are minimally institutionalized and have public diplomacy agenda are legitimate actors of public diplomacy in their own right (La Porte, 2012a). Other non-state actors may act as contractors of state-based public diplomacy initiatives (McDowell, 2008). Most non-state actors that are relevant to public diplomacy, however, have objectives or activities that coincide with some of the public diplomacy objectives above without having a public diplomacy agenda. In other words, their objectives or outcomes of their activities match with public diplomacy objectives unintentionally, yet they can offer potential for public diplomacy ends. The latter can be regarded as contributors or potential partners of state-based public diplomacy. Their contribution to public diplomacy can be realized and appreciated from an outcome-based approach to public diplomacy in which ‘contribution to public diplomacy’ is understood as the overlap of outcomes of activities of an entity with public diplomacy objectives stated above.

### **3.2.2. Public Diplomacy Actors**

The discussion on definition of public diplomacy leads us to identify actors and dimensions of complex relationships of public diplomacy which are outlined in Figure 1 below. As opposed to traditional diplomacy between the states, public diplomacy involves public stakeholders, non-state actors at both country and also global level.

Public diplomacy involves a state's interactions with its own citizens as public diplomacy cannot be thought in isolation from domestic and diaspora constituents who have certain interests in their home countries' interactions with foreign publics. Domestic publics must be considered as stakeholders and potential partners since public diplomacy policies produce outcomes that matter for them and their participation strengthens public diplomacy initiatives (Huijgh, 2011: 64; Zaharna, 2010: 86; Trent, 2012b; Fitzpatrick, 2012: 433-7; Attias, 2012; Bátorá and Van de Craen, 2006). Alienation of these domestic or diaspora stakeholders can be costly if they start actively opposing or lobbying against their home country's policies abroad (Potter, 2008: 58). Furthermore, domestic aspect of public diplomacy can also involve briefing and consulting with domestic constituencies on the relevant policies (Bátorá and Van de Craen, 2006: 73; Huijgh, 2011: 67; 2012: 312; Huijgh and Byrne, 2012: 405), and also training or educating them to help achieve certain public diplomacy objectives (Attias, 2012: 478). Diaspora communities in other countries can also be helpful for public diplomacy as they know the local culture and have access to and relationships with both ordinary people and influential elites in the countries they reside. Particularly, organized forms of domestic constituents and/or diaspora groups (e.g. NGOs, associations), who are the main focus of this study, have great potential for public-private partnerships in public diplomacy.

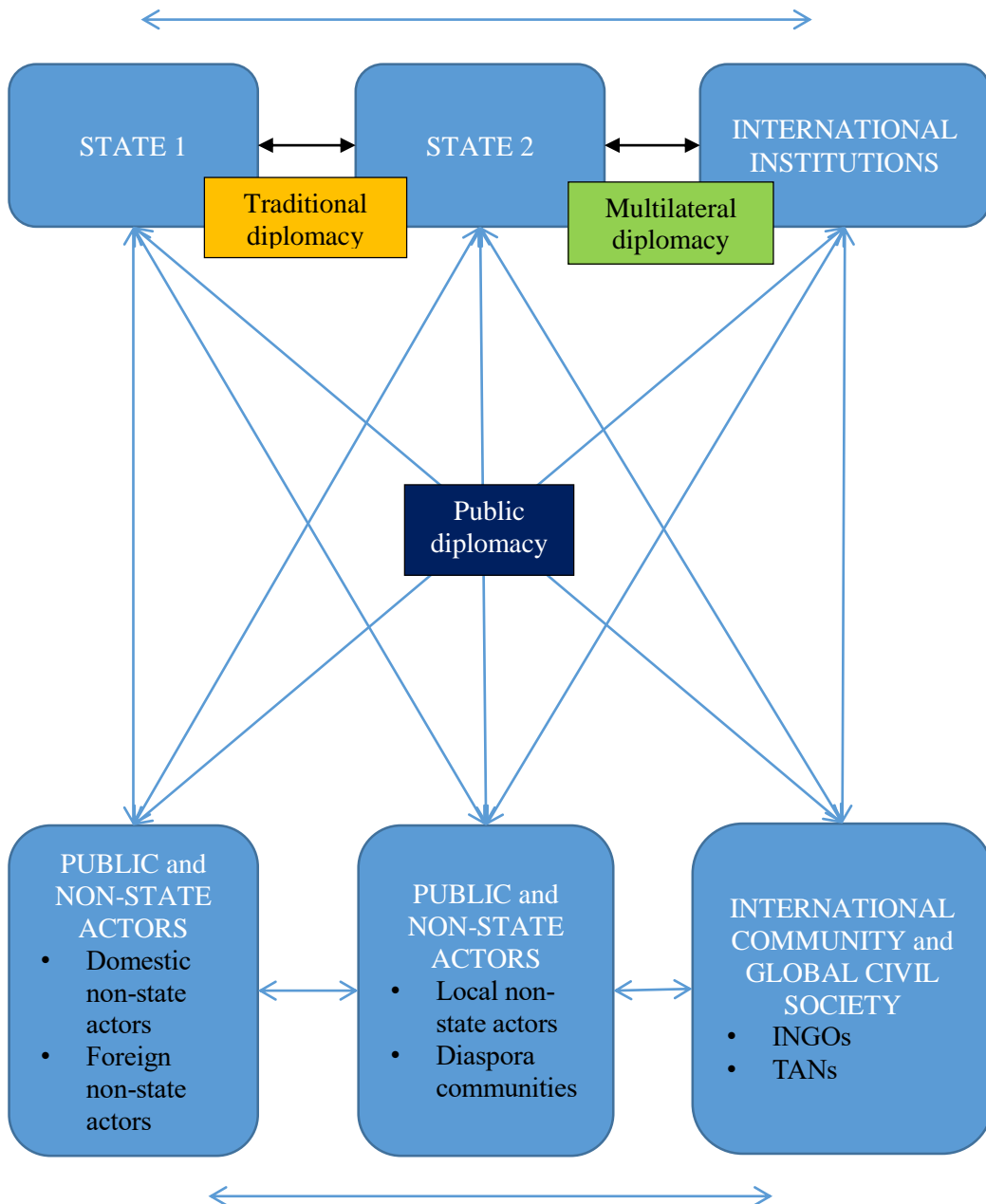
Foreign publics have been part of public diplomacy interactions since the first coining of



the concept as discussed in Chapter 2. Foreigners, both living within the home country and other countries, are stakeholders of public diplomacy. Foreign non-state actors, both living in the home country and in host countries, can become collaboration partners for public diplomacy efforts to multiply impact particularly where there are mutual interests.

In addition to foreign stakeholders in particular countries, there is also an international community in a more networked world that is interconnected through communication technologies (Castells, 1996, 2004b, 2008; Volkmer, 2003). We live in a world where not only public opinion in a country but also global public opinion matters. Furthermore, there is more organized form of international community, which is global civil society, in the less ambitious sense of the term. Global civil society has the likes of international NGOs (INGOs) and Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) that help frame international public opinion in global public sphere (Anheier and Katz, 2004: 215; Keane, 2001: 42; Stichweh, 2003: 28). These transnational actors became very influential and cannot be left out of the public diplomacy agenda in an increasingly interdependent world.

Public diplomacy takes place in a complex network environment as it is discussed below in the fourth section of the analytical framework. In this network environment, the states interact with domestic, foreign and global stakeholders through their public diplomacy initiatives. At the same time, domestic, foreign and global non-state actors have interactions with each other and state agencies either as part of their organizational public diplomacy agenda or in the ways that potentially have unintentional outcomes for public diplomacy.



**Figure 1:** Actors of public diplomacy<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This diagram is a more advanced version of the diagram by McDowell (2008: 9).

### **3.3. Incorporating Non-State Actors into Public Diplomacy Analysis**

The most widely referred framework used for public diplomacy is Leonard et al.'s work (2002) which was cited and/or developed by other prominent scholars (see e.g. Fitzpatrick, 2007; Gilboa, 2008; Nye, 2008a, 2004; Kelley, 2009). Leonard et al. (2002: 10-11) conceptualized public diplomacy with three time frames and three dimension of public diplomacy that suit each time frame: reactive (news management) which requires hours and days; proactive (strategic communication) which requires weeks and months; and lastly relationship-building which requires years. All three dimensions are important for sustainable public diplomacy outcomes and they complement each other (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; Nye, 2004, 2008a).

Zaharna (2009) categorized public diplomacy initiatives into information framework and relational framework. Information framework is more concerned with messaging strategies in a low-context fashion, which does not regard context or setting very importantly while emphasizing the code or the message (Hall, 1976: 101; Zaharna, 2009: 87-88). The sponsor of the initiative has monopoly control over everything related to the message, from the objective to the content and from the channels to the target audience. There is limited interaction between the sponsors of the initiative and the stakeholders in informational framework. Informational initiatives under this framework aim to achieve specific tasks such as advocacy or image promotion. Zaharna (2009: 88-91) lists propaganda, nation-branding, media-relations, international broadcasts and information campaigns as examples of public

diplomacy initiatives that follow information framework (Zaharna, 2011a: 209-215). In her earlier articles (Zaharna, 2007, 2010), information framework is discussed in connection with “mass-communication approach” which relies on low-context messaging through mass media in order to change attitudes.

Relational framework, on the other hand, is more concerned with relationship-building in a high-context fashion, which in the process of transmission of information puts more importance on the context or what is internalized in the transmitting person than the explicit message itself (Hall, 1976: 91, 101; Zaharna, 2009: 87, 91). Relational framework emphasizes mutual interests, commonalities and more interactive relations between the sponsor of initiative and the stakeholders (Zaharna, 2009: 87-91). As such, there is more collaboration than control in relational framework (Zaharna, 2009: 87-91). Relational initiatives are supposed to be more sustainable in the long-term (Zaharna, 2009: 87-91). Zaharna (2009: 91-96) lists cultural and educational exchange programs, leadership visits, cultural and language institutes, development aid projects, twinning arrangements, relationship-building campaigns, non-political networking schemes and policy networking strategies that incorporate coalition building as instruments of relational framework (Zaharna, 2011a: 215-224).<sup>16</sup> In her other articles, relational framework is discussed in connection with the “network communication approach” which is inherently relationship-based as the network dynamics of the era we live in shifted the “focus from information or *message content* (emphasis in original) to communication or *message exchange* (emphasis in original)” (Zaharna, 2010: 88). Zaharna (2007: 221; 2010: 111-114) argues that the latter approach’s

---

<sup>16</sup> Even though Zaharna discusses network initiatives under relational framework in (Zaharna, 2009), she distinguishes network initiatives as a third kind of public diplomacy initiatives in addition to information and relational initiatives in (Zaharna, 2011b).

focus is increasingly on network creation and relationship-building while this approach has been increasingly used by advocacy NGOs.

Table 1 below puts together Leonard's dimensions and time frames of public diplomacy, Zaharna's information and relational frameworks and non-state actors' relevance to each dimension. Furthermore, the instruments that can be used and the objectives that can be achieved in each time frame and dimension are identified in the table. This reconstruction was thought necessary to better understand and analytically explore the relevance of non-state actors, particularly of NGOs, to public diplomacy.

Short-term initiatives require hours and days to react to news events or prepare for crises and counterattacks (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 9; Nye, 2004: 107-110; Kelley, 2009). The relevant communication framework is information framework using instruments such as media relations (e.g. press releases, press conferences and briefings), social media (e.g. Twitter, Facebook and YouTube) and international broadcasting (e.g. BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera) for the public diplomacy objectives of advocacy, influence and informing. News (or crisis) management is closely linked to relevant state agencies and ideally led by state officials (Gilboa, 2008: 72-73; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 11). It is difficult to outsource news (or crisis) management to or do it in collaboration with non-state actors. That is because quick decision-making is necessary and state agencies' bureaucracy itself is often slow and collaboration can slow it down even more. Therefore, NGOs, and most other non-state actors for that matter, are not much relevant to short-term public diplomacy initiatives.

Medium-term initiatives require proactive strategic communication within weeks and months (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002). These initiatives are mainly based on Zaharna's (2009) information framework which particularly emphasize low-context

messaging. Zaharna's relational framework is also relevant for the medium-term strategic communication to some extent where the emphasis is on the context of the message. In the medium-term, the relevant instruments are intellectual events (e.g. forums, seminars, conferences and special lectures; what Kim Taehwan calls "knowledge diplomacy" or "forum diplomacy" (Hwang et al., 2013; Kim, 2015, 2014, 2011, 2012b, 2012a)), cultural diplomacy (e.g. high culture, pop culture), culinary diplomacy (a.k.a. gastrodiploamacy, e.g. cooking class, banquet, home invitations), corporate social responsibility (CSR), development aid (e.g. official development aid (ODA), nongovernmental humanitarian relief and aid), thematic communication (i.e. designing various programs and events for a specific task such as attracting FDI from a specific country or reunification of two countries (Kelley, 2009; Elaeva, 2011; Hwang et al., 2013)), media relations, social media and international broadcasting. These projects can be done in collaboration with relevant NGOs and other non-state actors (Gilboa, 2008: 72-73). Medium-term public diplomacy initiatives can have objectives such as advocacy, influence, agenda-setting, mobilization, informing, promotion and prestige and reinforcing other foreign policy objectives.

Finally, long-term initiatives require relationship-building and relationship management which is done in years. These initiatives are mainly based on Zaharna's relational framework (2009). Long-term public diplomacy initiatives rely on relationships that are built through instruments such as educational exchanges (Kelley, 2009; Cull, 2012; see e.g. Coombs and Holladay, 2010; Ross, 2002; Nye, 2004), intellectual events, people exchanges (e.g. ordinary people, youth leaders, VIP), networking (e.g. policy networking (Zaharna, 2009; Börzel, 1998; Reinicke, 1999)), public-private partnerships (Trent, 2012b; Newman et al., 2004), network-weaving (Krebs and Holley, 2002)) and training and mobilization of constituents

(i.e. sustainability of long-term public diplomacy initiatives depends on their continuation which requires further training and mobilization). These long-term public diplomacy initiatives can have objectives such as influence, mobilization, reinforcing other foreign policy objectives, dialogue and mutual understanding and peace and harmony.

Leonard et al. (2002: 11) argue that long-term public diplomacy must involve relationship-building with key individuals, which requires “earning high levels of trust, creating a neutral and safe environment, and can often best be done at one remove from government.” Building a framework based on this conceptualization, Gilboa (2008: 73) also implied that long-term public diplomacy should be remotely linked to a government. The underlying premise is that “governments are often mistrusted” (Nye, 2008a: 105; 2004: 113) and there could well be “public skepticism” (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 54) against their activities (Nye, 2004: 109-110; Attias, 2012: 474, 481; Zaharna, Arsenault, and Fisher, 2013a: 1; Riordan, 2008: 139-140; 2004: 12; Scott-Smith, 2009: 51-52; Riordan, 2005: 191; Gilboa, 2008: 73; Zaharna, 2009: 91-92; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 11; Nye, 2008a: 103-105). It is not that NGOs are always virtuous, but compared to state agencies they are “better plugged in to” the foreign societies and enjoy credibility and access (Riordan, 2008: 140), both of which are elaborated more in Section 3.4.2.

Furthermore, opportunity costs to build and maintain relationships are very high (Brown, 2010: 7) since social relations are not mechanic and require continuous attention for maintenance (Brown, 2013b: 246). Therefore, non-state actors are most relevant in long-term public diplomacy initiatives. On the state’s side, these initiatives must be done in collaboration with relevant non-state actors to achieve long-term public diplomacy objectives.

Policymakers craft their policies with certain perspectives and put them into practice with some limitations may it be time, manpower, budget or capabilities. Public policies are framed with the intention to represent and/or serve the interests of the constituents. Nevertheless, some segments of the society might have different perspectives on the relative policies (see e.g. Drezner, 2008). In countries where civil society is relatively free, civil society organizations are welcomed to create alternative services or similar services with different framing. In other words, civil society organizations can also represent and/or serve certain interests of the society since state agencies do not have monopoly for delivery of services for the public (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002: 14; Castells, 2008: 91). Public diplomacy policy is no exception to this.

Public diplomacy objectives can be achieved not only by state agencies and diplomats but also by non-state actors including the NGOs. A country's soft power resources that make it attractive promoting its reputation and positive image are not in the monopoly of the state. State agencies' public diplomacy policies and activities only introduce new ideas and images to the marketplace of ideas and images about that country. That marketplace is abundant with other ideas and images without the control of the state. Some of these ideas and images are created by non-state actors. These ideas and images may compete with each other or complement each other. The ideas and images created by non-state actors would compete with those that are created by that country's state agencies when non-state actors have different perspectives about the specific issue in hand. For example, when the government acts in a way that may damage the country's image, some non-state actors may oppose such policies and internationally lobby against its home country in an attempt which is supposed to 'save' the country's image. Such competition would enrich images about that country and competing ideas and images may attract different audiences in the



marketplace. On the other hand, the ideas and images created by non-state actors would complement those that are created by that country's state agencies when non-state actors have similar perspectives with the government. For example, promoting an image of the country as a winter sports destination by both Ministry of Tourism and hotels complement each other.

Furthermore, there are certain things that cannot be done by the state agencies, but rather can or should be done by civil society organizations in the field of public diplomacy. An example could be organizing street protests overseas to raise awareness for an issue which could well be a counter-argument to another country's approach on the same issue. There can be limitations on public diplomacy initiatives when it has to reflect official position of the state or the government while non-state actors are rather free from such limitations. Since non-state actors are relatively freer from such red lines, they enjoy more credibility in the field in their relations with foreign stakeholders (Riordan, 2005: 191; 2004: 12; Snow, 2010: 95).

The main purpose of this dissertation thesis is to explore the potential non-state actors, particularly NGOs, have for more effective and long-term public diplomacy and in turn to suggest how this potential can be utilized. Therefore, the focus is on the relational framework, particularly long-term initiatives where NGOs have more potential and are more relevant. Information framework initiatives are discussed only where collected data is related to those initiatives. The analytical framework for relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy, which is developed in the next section building on the discussion here, helps identify the potential of the NGOs in terms of different features of relational and network dimensions of public diplomacy; the potential which –from the state agencies' perspective– justify to make collaboration with the NGOs.

Range	Short-term	Medium-term	Long-term
Time Frame	Hours - days	Weeks – months	Years
Dimension	Reactive / News (or crisis) management	Proactive/ Strategic Communication	Relationship management
Communication Framework	Information	Information & Relational	Relational
Non-state Actors' Relevance	Low	Moderate	High
Instruments	Media relations, social media, international broadcasting	Intellectual events, cultural events, feasts, CSR, development cooperation, thematic communication, media relations, social media, international broadcasting	Educational exchanges, intellectual events, people exchanges, networking, training and mobilization of constituents
Objectives	Advocacy, influence, informing	Advocacy, influence, agenda-setting, mobilization, informing, promotion and prestige, reinforcing other foreign policy objectives	Influence, mobilization, reinforcing other foreign policy objectives, dialogue and mutual understanding, universal values and harmony

**Table 1:** Incorporating non-state actors into public diplomacy analysis<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> This table is reconstructed based on the works of (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; Gilboa, 2008; Zaharna, 2009).

### **3.4. Analytical Framework for Relational, Networked and Collaborative Public Diplomacy and NGOs**

Building on the discussion above, in this section, an analytical framework for relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy is developed to analyze why collaborative public diplomacy is needed and how collaboration between state agencies and NGOs (or should) take place. To answer the question of why collaborative public diplomacy is needed, activities of NGOs are analyzed from (1) relational dimension based mainly on public relations and dialogue theories; (2) network dimension based mainly on social network theory because of complex network environment where public diplomacy take place; (3) collaborative approaches based mainly on nonprofit (or NGO) studies.

This analysis helps finding possible NGO partners for different public diplomacy initiatives. The analytical framework identifies state agencies' weaknesses and NGOs' advantages in relational and network dimensions of public diplomacy in search of most suitable partners for collaborative endeavors. The analytical framework is normative in the sense that it suggests the best potential partners for different dimensions of public diplomacy, and it is predictive and has explanatory power in the sense that –rationally acting- state agencies already collaborate with those NGOs with the suggested qualities.

Furthermore, on the question of how collaboration can (or should) take place, particularly studies on nonprofit-government relations guide the last part of the analytical framework. A typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs is also introduced in that part.

### **3.4.1. Relational Public Diplomacy and NGOs**

NGOs' activities are freer from the skepticism or mistrust that is discussed above as the NGOs usually enjoy more neutrality and credibility in the field. They are more neutral and more inclined towards universal values because they are not necessarily seen as self-interested. "[U]ncumbered by the trappings of sovereignty and untainted by realpolitik," some NGOs enjoy "moral edge" over state agencies (Hocking, 2005: 39). Their credibility also comes from their expertise and know-how on the ground with adequate local knowledge. Their "natural ways of engaging with" their stakeholders "arouse less suspicion of their motives" (Riordan, 2005: 191; 2004: 12) and make these certain NGOs more trusted than state agencies (Nye, 2008a: 105; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002: 6). Leonard et al. (2002: 55-56) argue that NGOs, for that matter also some other non-state actors, have three key resources that state agencies may easily lack: "credibility, expertise, and appropriate networks."

Furthermore, NGOs have more visibility in the field "grounded in actions and events" which lead to more healthy interpersonal behavioral relationships as opposed to mediated symbolic relationships (Grunig, 1993a: 136). Neutrality (universality), expertise and behavioral relationships are in line with Gass and Seiter's (2009: 158-160) primary dimensions of credibility that are expertise, trustworthiness and goodwill. In addition, NGOs are more committed for long-term efforts on the ground. They naturally maintain their relationships for their main purposes.

In relational public diplomacy, publics should be regarded as stakeholders and active

participants rather than mere target audiences.<sup>18</sup> Interpersonal relationship-building works best if these initiatives are planned and implemented in the long-term sustainably (Nye, 2004: 109-110; Zaharna, 2009: 91-92; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 11; Nye, 2008a: 103). Furthermore, if required attention is not given to relationship building, public diplomacy efforts would lack long-term vision (Wilson, 1996: 78; Riordan, 2008: 141). NGOs can add long-term vision to public diplomacy activities with all their advantages.

Based on seminal public relations works of Ledingham (2003) and Grunig and Hunt (1984), Fitzpatrick (2007: 205-8) argue that new public diplomacy's major purpose is "relationship management" and relationships with the public must be "built on trust and accommodation created through genuine dialogue produced by two-way symmetrical communication that is designed to accommodate dual interests." That suggests a normative way of relationship-building dimension of public diplomacy rather than short-to-medium-term focused public diplomacy practices of states in reality (Fitzpatrick, 2007: 201-2). This dissertation also borrows this normative approach to relationship-building which NGOs add value to.

Ledingham's (2003: 190) theory of relationship management emphasizes common interests, shared goals, mutual understanding and mutual benefit in the long-term for effective organizational-public relationships. In a similar vein, Nye (2004: 111; 2008a: 104) calls for two-way exchanges for effective public diplomacy. However, Grunig and Hunt (1984) argue that for communication to be most effective it should not only be two-way but it should also be symmetrical. The two-way symmetrical model not only listens to the public but also take public interests into account when engaging with them. It emphasizes fostering

---

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion on typology of publics see (Grunig and Repper, 1992; Fitzpatrick, 2012).

mutual understanding and attainment of benefits also for the publics as well as for the organization (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). These public relations approaches are valuable for long-term public diplomacy, because sustainable public diplomacy outcomes are possible when public diplomacy's central purpose is "not to convince but to communicate, not to declare but to listen" and "sharing meaning and understanding" (Castells, 2008: 91).

Dialogic theories also contribute to relational public diplomacy complementing relationship management theory and two-way symmetrical model mentioned above. Cowan and Arsenault (2008: 18) conceptualizes dialogue as the exchange of ideas and information through reciprocal and multidirectional communication. In terms of dialogue, one must be ready to be changed by listening to others rather than just merely to be seen as listening (Saunders, 2013). Dialogue theorists Gangedeas and Swidler (2000) call for deep dialogue in which the change begins with a transformation of the 'self' through empathy, followed by an expanded vision by experiencing the world of the 'other,' and leading to a paradigm shift of the more conscious 'self'. In a similar vein, Kent and Taylor (2002: 31) list five features of dialogue that are essential for organizations to build relationships: mutuality (acknowledging the interdependence with publics), propinquity (interacting with the stakeholders in time), empathy (confirmation of others), risk (the willingness to interact with publics on their own terms), and commitment (genuineness and working towards mutual understanding). Lastly, dialogue-advocate Gülen's dialogue ideas are conceptualized by Sleaf and Sener (2013: 83-100) to have the following criteria: inclusiveness, open-endedness, mutuality rather than one-sided conversion, maintaining identity of each dialogue participant rather than advocating a melting pot, accepting others as they are, being oriented towards actions rather than words alone, involving ordinary people at the grassroots of societies as

well as opinion leaders, emphasizing shared objectives, regarding dialogue as a means that lead to greater mutual understanding by cooperating with others, building durable solutions to shared problems, involving a needs-based dynamic process as opposed to a predetermined static process, focusing on relationships with events as means to that end and attainment of the collective will of wider society and other organizations. These dialogic approaches provide substance for relational dimension of public diplomacy.

In line with these relational theories, Allport's "contact hypothesis" (quoted in Cowan and Arsenault, 2008: 20) has similar conditions for effective "contact," but an additional one which is that "participants have equal status or ability to participate." Especially NGO's equal footing with the publics in the field, in addition to their other advantages, is very vital for long-term vision of public diplomacy especially for interpersonal relationship-building.

Above, there is much discussion about relational public diplomacy and symmetrical communication. However, asymmetrical communication also has an audience that demand, for example, learning the culture and/or language of a country. Furthermore, certain advocacy campaigns to promote a cause or a country also cannot be downplayed. Advocacy is a legitimate public diplomacy objective and so is promoting a country's culture and language. Symmetric relational dimension for other activities of the same organization (state or non-state) can complement and strengthen these activities that have an asymmetric communication approach. Otherwise, asymmetric communication alone can be interpreted as self-interested and part of a propaganda campaign.

All of the conditions mentioned here for long-term relationship building show the soft spots of the states in public diplomacy. It is difficult for states to build and maintain sustainable relationships with influential individuals and civil society organizations in the

long run. Furthermore, it is even more difficult to build and maintain quality two-way symmetrical relationships. However, state agencies can complement their public diplomacy activities and long-term vision by collaborating with some specific NGOs that have the necessary qualities mentioned above. It is proposed here that for relational public diplomacy, certain NGOs have potential capabilities that include sustainable relationship-building and management, symmetrical and dialogic communication with their stakeholders whom they have relatively equal status.

### **3.4.2. Networked Public Diplomacy and NGOs**

We live in a globalized world with various intertwined networks. Public diplomacy is practiced in such a complex network environment in which states are still the most powerful, but not the only actors that make a difference. Within such a network environment, state is one of the stakeholders, but not necessarily the focal organization particularly in the case of long-term public diplomacy (Rowley, 1997: 892; Rosenau, 1995b: 196-198).

Network structure of public diplomacy should be understood as opposed to state-centered hierarchic public diplomacy. Hocking (2005: 35-39) argues that the “evermore complex, multifaceted agendas” leave states and non-state actors less capable of achieving successful policy outcomes alone in the state-centered “hierarchical model” of diplomacy; and there is a need, in a complex network environment (i.e. “the network model”), to establish policy networks. Policy networks are defined by Börzel (1998: 254) as “a set of relatively stable relationships which are of a non-hierarchical and interdependent nature linking a variety of



actors, who share common interests with regard to a policy and who exchange resources to pursue these shared interests acknowledging that cooperation is the best way to achieve common goals” (see also Hocking, 2004: 149-151; Gregory, 2005: 33-34). In a similar vein, Heine (2006, 2008) distinguishes between “club model of diplomacy” in which “diplomats meet only meet with government officials” and “network diplomacy,” which is “flatter,” “less hierarchical” and “engage a vastly larger number of” stakeholders and other actors. Rosenau (1995a: 14,17; 1997: 146) argues that “in the proliferating networks of an ever more interdependent world,” control or steering concepts should replace command mechanism to highlight “the purposeful nature of governance” as opposed to hierarchy. Probably, we need even to replace “control” and “steering” concepts in a non-hierarchical network environment as Denhardt and Denhardt (2000: 549; see also 2007) contend that “the primary role of the public servant is to help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests rather than to attempt to control or steer society” and it is true for public diplomats too. Similarly, Heine (2006: 7-9; 2008: 275-277) states that “hollowing out of traditional diplomatic duties,” diplomats have become “coordinators,” and to be effective in that, they need to perform the tasks of “network diplomacy... *build[ing] up extensive networks at home and abroad* (emphasis in original) to deliver the goods.” Burt et al. (Burt, Robison, and Fulton, 1998) also argue that a “coordination model” of diplomacy in which decision-making is collaborative should replace “the hierarchical control model of the past.” State-centric hierarchical public diplomacy cannot achieve long-term public diplomacy objectives which focus on relationship-building and management.

The main reason behind the evermore complex network environment today, which weakens the potential that can be achieved through hierarchic –public- diplomacy, is the

unprecedented recent technological advancements particularly in the communications field (Castells, 2004a: 3-5; Payne, Sevin, and Bruya, 2011: 46; Pigman and Deos, 2008: 87; Burt, Robison, and Fulton, 1998: 103; Pahlavi, 2004: 60-64; Ogawa, 2013: 117; Vickers, 2004: 183; Castells, 2010: xlv; Rosenau, 1995b: 194, 197; Castells, 2008: 81, 86; Mathews, 1998: 94, 104; 1997; Zaharna, 2010: 81; Ross, 2002: 76). The recent developments in communications technology have equipped nodes –including NGOs and other non-state actors- in the network with more power and more autonomy leading to a paradigm shift from state’s monopoly in hierarchical state-centered –public- diplomacy to a more horizontal decentralized networked –public- diplomacy (Castells, 2004a: 5, 29-36; Ross, 2002: 76; Hudson, 2009: 55; Hocking et al., 2012: 10-23; Zaharna, 2010: 81-82; Pahlavi, 2004: 60-64; Seo, 2013: 166; Kelley, 2014: 109; Castells, 2008: 86-90; Juris, 2004: 342).<sup>19</sup> Compared to hierarchies, networks are more resilient, adaptive, fluid and robust opening up new opportunities for more effective public diplomacy outcomes (Zaharna, 2010: 89; Riordan, 2005: 190-193; Kelley, 2014: 109; Gregory, 2008: 250).

In the network environment, there are domestic and foreign non-state actors (including diaspora communities both at home and abroad) whose activities are in the realm of public diplomacy either for similar or different objectives. These non-state actors can be regarded as potential partners if there are mutual interests while it is also very likely for them to be competitors or adversaries. Not only institutionalized non-state actors, but also domestic and foreign publics can no longer be seen as mere passive audiences, but they are stakeholders whose satisfaction, collaboration or resistance and pressure can be vital for public diplomacy

---

<sup>19</sup> The advancements in communication technologies did not only empower benevolent non-state actors, but also terrorists who utilize these technologies to challenge and complexify the international system. For more on terrorists’ use of communication technologies, see (Cox, 2006).

initiatives' survival (Oliver, 1991: 146-8; Rowley, 1997: 895-6). Treating domestic publics as stakeholders and encouraging them to participate and collaborate as partners is significant for public diplomacy projects in a network environment (Huijgh, 2011: 64; Fitzpatrick, 2012: 433-7; Attias, 2012; Bátorá and Van de Craen, 2006).

If not actively engaged, some of these domestic or diaspora stakeholders –who have enormous potential to be partners- can turn out to be adversaries. They can actively oppose and lobby against their home country's governments' policies abroad (Potter, 2008: 58) similar to the “boomerang pattern” of Keck and Sikkink (1998: 12-13). This kind of relationship is what Najam (2000: 8-9) refers to as “confrontational” which is based on a “divergence of preferred ends as well as means.” That is because, as the term stakeholder suggests they have a stake in public diplomacy activities or outcomes of these activities. They can legitimately advocate interests or values of their constituencies and want their voices to be heard and interests to be reflected in public diplomacy policies. On the state's part, it is difficult to satisfy every stakeholder, however welcoming stakeholder input and looking for collaboration opportunities would mitigate the risks of alienation of its stakeholders.

Two issues are particularly significant for state's collaboration with its stakeholders in a network environment: credibility and reach. Depending on the issues of credibility and reach, certain NGOs may enjoy certain advantages. These advantages can be utilized in collaborative initiatives with state agencies, in turn leading to potentially more effective public diplomacy policies. These two properties of networks are discussed below with a focus on the NGOs that bring the table most advantages in each case.

Relative credibility of NGOs among foreign stakeholders is already discussed in the

previous section. In the realm of public diplomacy, state agencies may lack credibility in certain networks or certain parts of a network as discussed above. There can be certain NGOs -who are at the same time stakeholders- that might enjoy more credibility where state agencies lack credibility for different reasons. Hence, it is proposed that when ‘credibility’ is the greatest obstacle to reach out to the certain publics, collaboration with NGOs that enjoy more credibility in the relevant (part of the) network can facilitate communication and relationship management. Collaborating with or outsourcing to more credible NGOs would bring more effective results for public diplomacy objectives.

Another issue related to credibility is bonding social capital which is defined as “bring[ing] together people who are like one another in important respects” (Putnam & Goss, 2002: 11; see also Coleman, 1988: 105; Putnam, 1995: 67; Walker, Kogut, and Shan, 1997: 111). This is important for public diplomacy outcomes as far as this credibility is utilized to make sure collaboration between state agencies NGOs facilitates easier diffusion of information, shared interests and norms and solves the collective action problem for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 395-6). Where there is high bonding social capital, communication between network members become more efficient and they create shared behavioral expectations (Galaskiewicz and Wasserman, 1989: 456; Rowley, 1997: 897). Furthermore, building on institutional and resource dependence theories, Oliver (1991: 171) concluded that interconnectedness in a network “facilitates the voluntary diffusion of norms, values, and shared information.” Due to shared behavioral expectations and norms and joint sanction frameworks, there is greater credibility and lower enforcement costs in these networks (Coleman, 1988: 107-108; Burt, 2000: 347; Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008; Walker, Kogut, and Shan, 1997: 111).

Furthermore, public diplomacy seen as self-interests of a state can limit its credibility and capabilities because of negative connotations of propaganda. One way to tackle this problem is to expand public diplomacy objectives to those that are beyond national interests showing goodwill and adherence to universally accepted values. Among other things, public diplomacy objectives can include adherence to global public goods such as knowledge, protecting environment, peacebuilding, fostering harmony and mutual understanding for confidence building and security order. What one actor deems valuable can also be valuable for other actors (or stakeholders) especially if those objectives are regarded as universal values and beyond national self-interests (Henrikson, 2005: 68). Emphasizing what public diplomacy can achieve beyond national interests and collaborating with stakeholders to achieve them together can indeed reinforce other public diplomacy objectives in the long-term. It is NGOs (including INGOs) who are not trapped in the boundaries of national interests and enjoy more credibility for such activities as proved in their active advocacy in every area of global public goods from banning landmines to fighting environmental degradation. Advocating for the interests of “global civil society,” they provide externalities beyond national boundaries (Castells, 2008; Kaldor, 2003; Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 32-33). Producing global public goods adds credibility to other public diplomacy initiatives as it shows goodwill. The interdependent nature of networked public diplomacy facilitates pursuit of more universal interests –beyond national interests- as different cultures, or different nodes in the network, interact and collaborate for “complementarity,” “reciprocal learning,” and “sharing” (Castells, 2004a: 42-43). Hocking et al. (Hocking et al., 2012: 21) argue that the most significant challenge diplomacy and diplomats face in the complex network environment of the modern day is “the implicit reconceptualization of the national interest

in terms of a set of global interests that can only be pursued in collaborative frameworks.” Global public goods as part of public diplomacy agenda beyond national interests –which may coincide with the national interests- can facilitate such international and transnational collaboration.

Another aspect of networks important for public diplomacy is reach. In the realm of public diplomacy, state agencies’ reach is limited in some networks or some parts of a network. In other words, some key parts of the network may be “dark” to the state (Brown, 2010: 7). This limitation is indeed inevitable since the state agencies’ human and financial resources, technical capabilities and issue-specific knowledge are also limited. In those (or parts of) networks, NGOs may have more extending relationships than the state. NGOs could be better connected to the public and/or centrally located to reach influential elites in certain publics. In other words, NGOs may enter some marketplaces that state agencies have difficulty entering. Kroenig et al. (Kroenig, McAdam, and Weber, 2010: 414) suggest that “if states are to shape the preferences of an international audience, or target, then they must be able to interact with that target in something that functions like a marketplace of ideas.” “Connectivity and access” to different parts of the network or different networks is essential for stakeholder engagement and collaboration (Castells, 2004a: 42). This is also referred to as bridging social capital, i.e. “bring[ing] together people who are unlike one another” (Putnam and Goss, 2002: 11). Hence, it is proposed that when ‘reach’ is the greatest obstacle to conduct effective public diplomacy in some areas, NGOs with greater bridging social capital can facilitate connection, communication and relationship management (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 393). Collaborating with or outsourcing to NGOs with greater bridging social capital would bring more effective results for public diplomacy objectives.

Actors with greater bridging social capital are regarded as gatekeepers (or brokers) as they facilitate information exchanges among other actors (Freeman, 1980: 586). Some NGOs may act as brokers or as “network bridges” (Zaharna, 2013: 183-184) connecting state agencies with other parts of the network state agencies have difficulty to reach. NGOs have this multiplier potential to span some “structural holes” (Burt, 2000) (dark areas in a network) or in some cases “cultural holes” (Pachucki and Breiger, 2010) (dark areas in understanding of cultural and social practices or discourses in some networks). Scholz et al.’s (2008: 307, 405) empirical study finds that brokerage is especially vital for “unstructured policymaking arenas” – such as rather unstructured public diplomacy policymaking – and brokers would create advantageous opportunities when mutual benefits of collaboration opportunities are not very apparent. However, one must be aware that position in a network or structural holes can depend on the issue in hand since networks are not static. Therefore, network initiatives would prove most successful when they serve specific and limited purposes (Zaharna, 2013: 187-188).

Even though state agencies have enough connections (reach) and credibility for certain network initiatives, there is much to do for state agencies (responsible for public diplomacy) with their scarce human, financial and social capital. Based on the literature review (see e.g. Armitage and Nye, 2007: 65; Attias, 2012; The Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy, 2008: 2-3; Kalin, 2011: 21; Djerejian, 2003; The U.S. General Accountability Office, 2006, 2009; Rosenau, 1995b; Kelley, 2014, 2010; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2014; 2008: 12; Zatepilina, 2010: 4, 27; Zaharna, 2013, 2012a, 2010; The U.S. Department of State, 2010: 99, 177; Cabral et al., 2014: 2; Lord, 2008: 1, 4-5; Seo, 2013: 160-161; Snow, 2008: 191, 199; Gregory, 2008; Fisher, 2008, 2013b,

2013a; Cowan and Arsenault, 2008) and my observations in the field, it is posited that state-centric public diplomacy is not enough for effective public diplomacy outcomes. In order to make up for its insufficiencies in different dimensions, state agencies need to collaborate with or outsource to NGOs that are already doing – or that has potential to do- effective activities in those dimensions in line with public diplomacy objectives of the state agencies. NGOs’ specialization, know-how and expertise in certain issues can save state agencies’ resources as they do not need to develop the same expertise and know-how in-house (Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006: 227). This would help share the costs (including the opportunity costs of maintaining relationships) with the NGOs.

The complex network environment requires the new diplomats, or “guerilla diplomats”, to be “network builder[s]” who connect and start *dialogue* “directly with populations” and navigate “pathways of influence;” and not just *inform* the publics from “their traditional metropolitan comfort zones” (Copeland, 2009: 10; Melissen, 2011: 4; see also Melissen, 2005a: 24). On top of that, public diplomats should use multipliers effectively as “network weavers” who “actively create new interactions between” different groups (Krebs and Holley, 2002: 6). By acting as managers of institutional relationships (Fitzpatrick, 2007), they should increasingly rely more “on non-governmental initiatives, collaborate with non-official agents and benefit from local expertise” (Melissen, 2005a: 22). This bridging role is itself a public good; in Lord’s (2010: 8) words, “introducing the right partners to each other is an under-supplied public good.”

Furthermore, NGOs are not elected by the large public whom they are accountable to in the short-term. Therefore, on the positive side of the story, they can focus on long-term policies and activities with more flexibility, quick response and less bureaucracy in the



process as opposed to the state which is often trapped in short-term policymaking with much red-tape (Kelley, 2009: 77; Melissen, 2005a: 24; Sen and Davala, 2002: 39-40; Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006: 224; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002: 6).

### **3.4.3. Collaborative Public Diplomacy and NGOs**

In the previous two sections of the analytical framework for relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy, the necessity of collaboration with NGOs for public diplomacy initiatives in a complex network environment that requires careful relational approach in the long-term are discussed. The above discussions help justification of why collaborative public diplomacy is needed. This section continues looking at why this collaboration take place based mainly on the literature on government-nonprofit relations and corporate social responsibility. At the end of this section, the discussion on why collaborative public diplomacy is needed is summarized in Table 2. Based on this discussion, the analytical framework rationally predicts and normatively suggests collaboration between state agencies and NGOs with certain advantages in relational and network dimensions of public diplomacy.

There are different approaches to why state agencies and NGOs collaborate. They all have their merits and flaws. Here, the models that are relevant to collaborative public diplomacy approach are discussed.

Market niche model sees nonprofits' engagement in service and goods provision as plugging the gaps created by state and market failures since they meet the demands

enhancing people's choices by adding greater diversity and efficiency (Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006: 224; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002: 5). According to this argument, there is a division of labor among three sectors, namely the state, the market and nonprofit sector each meeting the demand from a comparative advantage perspective (Brinkerhoff, 2002: 21; Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006: 224).

This economic model is especially relevant for public diplomacy when public diplomacy outcomes are regarded as public good for the society (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 9). There is certain limitation to state's capacity to maximize potential public diplomacy outcomes, particularly in the long-term. Like most other public goods, NGOs can provide this public good either by itself or in collaboration with the state. In other words, NGOs can "supplement" (Young, 2006: 39-40) the state in creating public diplomacy outcomes which are regarded as public goods.

Another approach to collaboration is transaction model in which nonprofits have services to offer state which have resources to take advantage of these services (Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006: 225). In addition to government and market failures, one must be aware of "voluntary failure" which refers to nonprofits' weaknesses such as insufficiency (limited scale and resources), amateurism, particularism (not interests of community at large) and paternalism (sponsor's visions and preferences) (Salamon, 1987). Because of these and other insufficiencies, not all NGOs are always the best candidates for collaboration. In this model, state looks to exploit advantages of the NGOs—despite their insufficiencies—especially when its direct engagement is seen to be not efficient or where NGOs' support is crucial as outlined above (Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier, 2000: 12). In other words, state agencies may want to keep themselves at arm's length and let NGOs run certain initiatives to preserve the

credibility of the program while these NGOs serve as buffer between state agencies and foreign stakeholders (Mueller, 2009: 103; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 54-55). Resource dependence theory also complements transaction model as the transaction between state agencies and nonprofits occur depending on “1) the importance of the resource, 2) the availability of alternatives and 3) the ability to compel provision of resource” (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981; Saidel, 1991: 545).

In the realm of public diplomacy, transaction model and resource dependence theory are more relevant for outsourcing relations between government and nonprofits. State can look out for contractors with specialized expertise and know-how in a certain field. In this model, NGOs are “complementary” (Young, 2006: 39-40) partners to state agencies helping implementation of public diplomacy initiatives which are mainly initiated and financed by the state agencies. In addition to financial resources, state agencies’ democratic legitimacy – and in turn the public confidence in them- benefit the NGOs when they choose to partner with state agencies, or rather outsource their public diplomacy initiatives.

Like any other outsourcing relation, public diplomacy outsourcing too can create principal-agent problem (Pratt, Zeckhauser, and Arrow, 1985) in which it is difficult for the state to make sure NGOs –given their insufficiencies- do effective public diplomacy on its behalf. Furthermore, voluntary failures, which are mentioned above, can create problems for public diplomacy initiatives. For example, funds received from a state agency for a program to promote a country’s image can be used for asymmetrical and aggressive self-interested activities which may put the initiative in jeopardy. Therefore, collaboration with or outsourcing to NGOs whose interests, goals and activities can be seen as suspicious and counterproductive should be avoided. However, principal-agent problem or voluntary

failures should not discourage collaboration with NGOs altogether since they have much potential to be utilized for public diplomacy initiatives. Giving tips to the governments working with the NGOs, Hudson (2009: 159) suggests that for effective collaboration, state agencies should “choose the right NGOs, not your friends or the ones who have a soft opinion in what you want to avoid doing.” Furthermore, he contends that state agencies should collaborate with “the strong-minded NGOs that work seriously in the sector and can advise you on long-term solutions” (Hudson, 2009: 159).

Nevertheless, state agencies may have a limited vision of public diplomacy outcomes undermining the potential achievements that can be realized in collaboration with NGOs. An essential first step is creating awareness for state agencies about potential public diplomacy outcomes taking into account relational and network dimensions of collaborative public diplomacy initiatives. On the civil society's part, recognizing public diplomacy outcomes as public good would lead to more active engagement and more expectations from the state in this area reflecting aggregation of interests of the society for public goods (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002: 14; Castells, 2008: 91).

In addition to these models, social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) and neo-institutional model (Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006) help identify historical-contextual and institutional factors that shape government-nonprofit relations. These two models are especially relevant when collaborative public diplomacy case studies are conducted in more than one country or region.

Collaboration can also take place without formal contracts. Because of slow bureaucracy required for formal collaboration, informal collaboration can take place quite often either to speed up formal collaboration (Chisholm, 1992) or even as an alternative itself (Gazley,

2008). Formality may even discourage some NGOs who do not want to put efforts into endless bureaucratic procedures. Informality, as much as it is permitted by the legal producers or common practice, can complement formal collaboration. Furthermore, informal collaboration or informal relationships, in addition to formal ones, helps make better use of the advantages of the NGOs such as flexibility and efficacy. Informal networks can also span public and private spheres (Evans, 1997: 7) in which public diplomats act as “boundary-spanners” (Hocking, 2004: 151; Hocking et al., 2012: 69).

Collaboration with NGOs is not without flows. Management of collaboration can also be costly for state agencies. One way to reduce these costs of collaboration with NGOs is inviting enthusiasts to contribute to public diplomacy initiatives freely and without much burden to the state in an “open-source” (Fisher, 2008) fashion.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> For examples of collaborative public diplomacy, see (Attias, 2012; Hocking, 2008: 70; Henrikson, 2005; Mueller, 2009; Bátorá and Van de Craen, 2006; The U.S. Department of State, 2010: 4).

Collaborative public diplomacy					
	Issues Themes	State's weaknesses	NGOs' advantages		Related NGOs
Relational dimension	Relationship- building	Lack of long-term vision Public skepticism Maintenance costs Symbolic relationships	Long-term vision Neutrality Credibility Behavioral relationships		Long-term relationship-oriented
	Mutuality & symmetrical	Asymmetrical Self-interests	Symmetrical Mutual interests		Symmetrical communication- oriented
	Credibility	Public skepticism Self-interests Limited social capital	Neutrality/ universality Credibility Social capital		Credible (high bonding social capital and/or global issues- oriented)
Network dimension	Reach	Limited reach Limited resources/ knowledge	Bridging Spanning structural (or cultural) holes		Network bridges
	Resources	Limited resources Bureaucracy	Expertise Flexibility and above advantages		Any of the above

**Table 2:** Identifying related NGOs for collaborative public diplomacy

#### **3.4.4. Typology of Collaboration between State Agencies and NGOs**

The typology for how collaboration between state agencies and NGOs for public diplomacy initiatives take place is laid out in this section. This typology is outlined in Table 3. The typology calls attention to the need for state agencies' search for eligible partners. Such collaboration type is often rare but promising for collaborative public diplomacy. Before constructing the typology, firstly two collaboration typologies by Brinkerhoff (2002) and Zaharna (2012a) are introduced since they are useful to understand the typology in this research project.

Brinkerhoff (2002) constructed a typology of partnership based on two dimensions: mutuality and identity. Mutuality refers to interdependence in partnership while identity refers to maintenance of (especially the weaker organization's) core values, constituencies and sectoral characteristics (e.g. comparative advantages of being a nonprofit organization) (Brinkerhoff, 2002: 22-24). Trading off upward accountability –accountability towards sponsors and state agencies- for downward accountability –accountability towards constituents and/or benefactors- and internal accountability –accountability toward values and staff- undermines NGOs' legitimacy in the eyes of its constituents, benefactors and sympathizers as the NGO may fail to maintain its core values (Atack, 1999: 859; Kilby, 2006: 952-955; Ebrahim, 2003: 822). Mutuality is important especially for enduring long-term collaboration, as opposed to ad hoc partnerships. Mutuality leads to a sense of ownership (Brinkerhoff, 2002: 27; Fisher, 2013a: 200; 2013b: 219; 2008: 14) of the collaborative project which increases mutual trust (Trent, 2012b: 41; Brinkerhoff, 2002: 27; Burt, 2005: 112-131), strengthen partnership norms (Fisher, 2013b: 219), and in turn reduces partnership

construction and maintenance costs (Brown, 2010: 7; Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 396). The idea of mutuality is in line with relational dimension of public diplomacy discussed above.

Organizational identity is significant for partnerships, because partners agree to collaborate for the present qualities and characteristics they bring with them. In other words, maintenance of identity is the basis of collaboration's "value-added" (Brinkerhoff, 2002: 22). Failure to maintain organization's core values, constituencies and sectoral characteristics such as comparative advantages of being a nonprofit organization might diminish the advantages of the partnership, and in turn decreasing the value-added of future partnerships with the same or different partners (Brinkerhoff, 2002: 27). Mutuality and maintenance of identity would lead especially the weaker organization to engage in collaboration with more enthusiasm as opposed to "external motivating factors, such as rewards, punishments, or social pressure" (Fisher, 2013b: 218). Like mutuality, maintaining identity is also in line with relational dimension of public diplomacy.

In order to pursue mutuality and maintain identity in a partnership for more effective collaboration, beginning with shared interests and goals is an important step. Relationship management theory (Ledingham, 2003: 190) and excellence theory (i.e. two-way symmetrical communication) (Grunig and Hunt, 1984) both emphasize solving common problems by focusing on shared interests and goals. Commonalities in collaborative initiative can also be based on network narratives that Zaharna (2013: 186) puts forward: task-based narratives that partners focus on the shared objective; social-based narratives that highlights belonging in the partnership and associating with the partners; and identity-based narratives that emphasizes "a sense of being (rather than belonging or doing)."



Collaboration is still possible where state agencies and NGOs share similar objectives, but have different means “complementing” (Najam, 2000: 9-10) each other; and also where state agencies and NGOs’ means are similar but towards different objectives “co-opting” (Najam, 2000: 10-11) each other. Collaboration with NGOs who have public diplomacy objectives, but rather do it on its own terms –rather than being a contractor to the state- falls into “complementarity” category. Collaboration with NGOs who do not have public diplomacy objectives, but have potential to contribute to public diplomacy outcomes fall into “co-optation” category.

In the realm of public diplomacy, Zaharna (2012a) offers a rare typology for public diplomacy initiatives. In her typology, there are quadrants based on two dimensions: the initiator of the project, and whose needs are prioritized. First quadrant is state-initiated project for state-driven needs and goals; second quadrant is state-initiated project in partnership with the public aligned to public needs and goals; third quadrant is public-initiated project in partnership with the state aligned to state needs and goals; and fourth quadrant is public-initiated project for public-driven needs and goals independent from the state (Zaharna, 2012a). She argues that there has been a shift from state-based initiatives to public-based ones treating publics as active “stakeholders” who share similar goals and perspectives with the state (Zaharna, 2012a). However, Zaharna (2012a) asserts that there is also the need to shift from state-centric initiatives to public-centric ones which are more participatory and relation-focused. Failure to engage stakeholders in this quadrant may be costly if they become adversarial (Zaharna, 2012a; Fitzpatrick, 2012: 434). Hudson (2009: 159) suggests that rather than disregarding strong NGOs, for that matter other strong stakeholders, and facing them in the media, it is better to collaborate with them to improve

policies and utilize their channels to get government's opinion to the public.

Collaboration typologies discussed above help us understand different kinds of partnerships that take place between state agencies and NGOs. Zaharna's typology guides us to categorize public diplomacy initiatives to carefully analyze stakeholders' place in these initiatives. Brinkerhoff's typology can be adopted itself to categorize collaborative public diplomacy initiatives. However, there is a necessity to distinguish who proposes the collaboration in the first place. That is because, often collaboration is understood and practiced from a state-centric approach in which state evaluates applications from NGOs rather than the other way around. This state-centrism falls short of maximizing potential outcomes from public diplomacy policies since many NGOs refrain from approaching state agencies for collaboration for mutual interests. I attempt to build my typology for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives below. This typology questions such state-centric approach and distinguishes between not only the initiator of the project, but also the initiator of the collaboration.

The collaboration typology, which is laid out in Table 3, is based on two dimensions: who is the initiator of the project and who proposes collaboration in the first place. Based on the two dimensions in the typology, the terms contractor/ collaboration and passive/ active are used respectively. The label collaboration is used if the collaborative initiative is NGOs' own initiative which means that their objectives are prioritized in the collaboration. If NGOs work as contractors of state agencies' initiatives, in which state agencies' interests are prioritized, the label contractor is used. On the other dimension, the label active refers to state agencies' active attitude in proposing collaboration to NGOs in the first place. Conversely, the label passive refers to NGOs' proposal of working together in which state agency has a passive

posture –as it does not actively search for eligible partners. The terms active and passive do not have literary meanings other than explained here. The term partnership is used when both contractor and collaboration types of collaborative initiatives are referred to together.

The labels in each quadrant in Table 3 serve the purpose of illustration only (Brinkerhoff, 2002: 24). This typology helps labeling of certain collaborative initiatives between state agencies and NGOs and cannot be generalized to other relations between the same state agencies and same NGOs. In other words, different collaborative initiatives between the same state agencies and same NGOs may be labelled differently since this typology labels *initiatives or projects* and not *overall partnership type* between state agencies and NGOs.

Furthermore, the degree of collaboration is not analyzed with this typology. Getting funding from state agencies, working together on a project, logistical help to each other's projects and any other kind of added-value to each other's initiatives are regarded as collaborative initiatives in this research project. Hudson's (2009: 188) "levels of connection" can guide further research on the degree of collaboration though: (1) "[i]nform: acquire and exchange information;" (2) "[i]nvolve: encourage participation, where contributions inform but don't dictate our own decisions;" (3) "[i]ntegrate: take another's contribution properly into account and build it into our own thinking so that decisions, though our own, fully reflect others' perspectives."

**Passive contractor:** If a public diplomacy initiative is a state agency's own initiative in which the state agency's objectives are prioritized, then NGOs can act as contractors (outsourcers) for the state agency in this type of collaboration. In the case that, a state agency has created a guideline for a specific project and asks NGOs to apply for the project, then the type of collaboration is 'passive contractor' one since the state agency look forward to

applications from NGOs and does not itself search for eligible partners. For example, a state agency has a program sending volunteer corps to overseas and accepts applications from NGOs for performing the related tasks as outlined by state agency's guidelines.

**Active contractor:** If there is a public diplomacy initiative of a state agency which requires NGOs' participation, the state agency can alternatively seek for NGOs who are already doing similar activities for similar objectives and can potentially bring the best results. This is regarded as 'active contractor' in this typology since the state agency actively seeks for partners. For example, for the same volunteer corps program, the state agency may ask certain NGO –who is proven to be experienced and effective in this area- to perform the related tasks as outlined by state agency's guidelines without requiring it or other NGOs to go through the application process.

**Passive collaboration:** If there is collaboration between a state agency and an NGO in which the initiator of the public diplomacy initiative is the NGO with its own objectives prioritized, then it is referred to as collaboration in the typology. When state agencies open the channels for NGOs to approach state agencies for collaboration for their own initiatives, it is called 'passive collaboration.' For example, an NGO has a project to promote its home country's culture overseas and proposes it to a related state agency and that state agency decides to collaborate with the NGO by supporting it financially, logistically or by adding value to the project by other means.

**Active collaboration:** On the other hand, a state agency can also seek for an NGO whose activities and interests are in line with state agency's public diplomacy objectives and propose that NGO collaboration for that NGOs' own initiatives. In other words, NGOs will keep doing what they already do with the state agency's support. This kind of collaboration

is called ‘active collaboration’ since state agencies actively look for partners. For example, an NGO does the above-mentioned program to promote its home country’s culture on its own. The state agency does not wait for this NGOs’ application for collaboration, but instead proposes collaboration first to support the project financially, logistically or by adding value to the project by other means. Then it would be up to the NGO whether to accept collaboration or not weighing its advantages and disadvantages. NGOs may also decide not to collaborate with state because of its downward accountability and independence concerns as discussed above.

		Partnership-initiator	
		State	NGOs
Project-initiator	State	Active contractor (outsourcer)	Passive contractor (outsourcer)
	NGOs	Active Collaboration	Passive Collaboration

**Table 3:** Typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs

Opening the channels for passive collaboration and passive contractor increases the potential of public diplomacy initiatives. Seeking for contractors actively adds more –and probably better- alternatives to the ones that approach the state agencies first. Furthermore, active collaboration is very significant for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives since some NGOs refrain from taking the first step to approach state agencies because of

independence and downward accountability concerns. Actively seeking for partners is also discussed but with a different focus in Nijhof et al.'s (2008) "Partnerships for Corporate Social Responsibility" article. In their business-case (outside-in) orientation, companies first propose dialogue and partnership with NGOs in order to gain sympathy among stakeholders and control any unpredictable adverse impacts (Nijhof, de Bruijn, and Honders, 2008).

For NGOs, working on their own initiatives and having their objectives prioritized during collaboration with the state agencies mean maintaining their identity as in Brinkerhoff's (2002: 22-24) typology. NGOs can maintain core values, constituencies and comparative advantages of being a nonprofit organization in this way. In Zaharna's (2012a) typology it is akin to public-centric initiatives. Brinkerhoff's mutuality dimension is not reflected in this typology; however, it is significant for relational aspect of collaborative public diplomacy initiatives especially in the long-term. Furthermore, active collaboration especially in the fourth quadrant of Zaharna's (2012a) typology is required to utilize potential comparative advantage of the NGOs' own initiatives and to avoid possible opportunity costs in the case that these potential partner NGOs turn to adversaries as discussed before.

Empirically, it is suggested that, proposal for collaboration often comes from NGOs (passive), as opposed to coming from state agencies (active) (Sen and Davala, 2002: 39). Because state agencies are more powerful and control more resources which NGOs lack and need, it is usually NGOs who need to convince the state agencies for collaboration (Sen and Davala, 2002: 39). However, effective public diplomacy in a swiftly changing complex network environment requires state agencies to actively seek for partners who would add value to public diplomacy initiatives. Therefore, it can be argued that collaborative public diplomacy itself is not enough. Both from a pragmatic and normative perspective, state

agencies should look for partners actively as well as opening the channels for passive partnerships (contractor and collaboration).

Active partnerships (active collaboration and active contractors) can also be part of the solution to the principal-agent problem mentioned above. By collaborating with NGOs who would continue to do what they do effectively in the field, state agencies would not need to worry much about whether its interests are in jeopardy in this type of collaboration. This is because, state agencies would know what NGOs do and approach it for collaboration to ask them keep doing what they are already doing. However, there is no guarantee that all NGOs would welcome collaboration with state agencies. Some NGOs can avoid approaching state first because of maintaining identity concerns; while some others could even close its doors even if the proposal for collaboration comes from state agencies because of their strict downward accountability and independence principles.

It is proposed in this section that state agencies' capacity for doing public diplomacy alone is limited and state agencies must look for potential partners for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives as well as opening their channels to enthusiasts that come with partnership proposals.

## **4. METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1. Qualitative Research**

Silverman (2010: 73) suggests to build on similar research by others not to reinvent the wheel (see also Maxwell, 2013: 65). There are two very valuable dissertation theses written on non-state actors' engagement in PD, one by Trent (2012b) and other by Zatepilina (2010). Their studies proved most helpful to me especially in designing my research. This research is built reflecting particularly on their methodological choices. Furthermore, several major widely accepted methodology sources (particularly Babbie, 2010; Mason, 2002; Schutt, 2006; Maxwell, 2013; Yin, 2009; Silverman, 2010; Stake, 1995, 2010; Yin, 2011) are read through to design a sound research project.

This study aims to explore NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy and find out their potential for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives. The underlying proposition is that understanding NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy –that is what kind of activities they do in the realm of public diplomacy and why- is essential to design effective collaborative public diplomacy initiatives and address problems that obstruct or undermine the potential long-term public diplomacy outcomes (see also Weiss, 2013: 9). For this exploration, a qualitative approach is preferred. As it is discussed above, there is a general agreement in the literature of public diplomacy that non-state actors are more and more accepted as relevant actors in public diplomacy. However, there is a lack of research on how these non-state actors



get involved in public diplomacy. Their relevance to public diplomacy remains an underexplored area (Gilboa, 2008: 57). Therefore, this study aims to conduct exploratory case study (Babbie, 2010: 92-3; Yin, 2009: 28-29, 37).

The nature of this case study is exploratory because of couple of reasons. Firstly, NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy, particularly long-term relational public diplomacy is widely accepted in the literature as discussed above. Therefore, it can be considered a persistent phenomenon that needs more exploration (Babbie, 2010: 92; Schutt, 2006: 78). Secondly, there is lack of research on non-state public diplomacy and it is an underdeveloped concept (Babbie, 2010: 92; Yin, 2009: 37; Schutt, 2006: 288). Thirdly, I have intrinsic interest and desire to better understand the topic, which is elaborated more below (Babbie, 2010: 92; Stake, 1995: 4-5). Fourthly, I would like to examine the feasibility of a more extensive research on non-state actors' role in public diplomacy and this research formulates initial methods and frameworks to that end (Babbie, 2010: 92). Fifthly, in turn, this exploratory case study can help in yielding new insights about the topic (Babbie, 2010: 93; Yin, 2011: 104; Schutt, 2006: 76).

The phenomenon of non-state public diplomacy needs to be better understood with an in-depth analysis which requires a qualitative analysis and case study methodology (Maxwell, 2013: 30-31; Patton, 2002: 230 quoted in Braun & Clarke, 2013: 56; Creswell, 2014: 14; Yin, 2011: 6). Case study methodology allowed me to make such an in-depth analysis in which major data source is semi-structured interviews with the representatives of selected NGOs whose activities are relevant to public diplomacy. These NGO participants' "interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings" constitute the "primary data sources" (Mason, 2002: 56). Interviews are regarded as "essential source of case study evidence because most

case studies are about human affairs or behavioral events” (Yin, 2009: 108). Their perspectives are taken seriously to understand NGOs’ relevance to public diplomacy (Maxwell, 2013: 53; Creswell, 2014: 186; Stake, 1995: 12). Participants make sense of their activities in relation to public diplomacy (Blaikie, 2000: 115; Mason, 2002: 56; Maxwell, 2013: 81).

Qualitative interviewing with the participants in the field facilitated achieving “depth and roundedness of understanding” in NGOs’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy, “rather than a broad understanding of surface patterns” (Mason, 2002: 65). During the interviews, leading questions are avoided as the interview questions were more open-ended which enabled new insights that are not expected before asking the questions (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 450; Given, 2008: 811; Yin, 2011: 312). In addition to interviews, observations and documentation (brochures, books, newsletters, websites etc.) are used as data sources “to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (Yin, 2009: 103). Data collection procedures are analyzed below.

Yin (2009: 27) lists five components of research design that are especially important for case studies: research questions; propositions; units of analysis; the logic linking the data to the propositions; and the criteria for interpreting the findings. The research questions are modified throughout the research “with an open mind” to see what is there to investigate within the collected data because of the inductive nature of this study (Maxwell, 2013: 73; Stake, 1995: 9). Yin (2009: 28) justified that exploratory case studies might not have propositions, but this study still has some propositions to be examined through case study. The unit of analysis in this research is nonprofit nongovernmental organizations of Korea, Turkey and Japan. Their properties and selection procedures are discussed in the next section.

All of the analytical techniques discussed in the above paragraph represent this research's ways of linking data to propositions (Yin, 2009: 34). The last component is discussed later in this section in the validity paragraph and in the next section which explains replication logic.

My starting point for this research was my intrinsic interest in the subject due to my personal professional experiences of working for a non-state actor whose activities overlap with the objectives of public diplomacy. Personal experiences are very useful to build a research project. Strauss and Corbin (1990: 35-6) argue that “the touchstone of your own experience may be more valuable an indicator for you of a potentially successful research endeavor” as they make a case against the idea that research problem based on professional or personal experiences are hazardous. Firstly, this is an area I am familiar with (Silverman, 2010: 24, 39, 79-83) and have intrinsic interest in (Stake, 2010: 4-5; Maxwell, 2013: 24-6; Silverman, 2010: 81). My personal professional experiences in the field has helped me in designing and carrying out this project (Silverman, 2010: 31; Creswell, 2014: 200-1) as it gave me “major source of insights, questions and practical guidance” (Maxwell, 2013: 24). Strauss regards experiential data as “essential data” and suggests to “mine” one's experiences, because “there is potential gold there” (1987: 11). Secondly, I had easier access to some of the NGOs (i.e. KCOC, HFA, JWF and Nittokai) that I have known before starting this project (Silverman, 2010: 32). Thirdly, I was able to communicate with my participants with empathy and treated them as colleagues rather than only mere “participants” (Creswell, 2014: 97-98; Maxwell, 2013: 101). This, in turn, alleviated the reactivity problem (Maxwell, 2013: 124-5).

An analytical framework is built to guide this research (Creswell, 2014: 69). The analytical

framework is constructed based on reevaluation of the public diplomacy literature together with theories of neighboring fields such as social network, public relations, dialogue studies, NGO studies, CSR and nonprofit-government relations. Categories (relational public diplomacy, networked public diplomacy, collaborative public diplomacy) and themes (symmetrical communication, dialogue, credibility, beyond national interests, reach, active contractor etc.) are created in the analytical framework which guided data analysis (Maxwell, 2013: 107-108; Creswell, 2014: 65). The analytical framework was not exclusively pre-structured, but remained open to generate new categories (e.g. other contributions) and new themes (e.g. education, mobilization etc.) inductively based on the incoming data to capture new insights as I go back and forth between the analytical framework and data (Maxwell, 2013: 89, 107; Holloway and Wheeler, 2013: 11). This categorizing process included both coding and thematic analysis (Maxwell, 2013: 105). In addition to categorizing strategies, I have read and thought about my interview transcripts, observation notes, wrote memos and created tables and a (collaboration) typology “*alp*” (emphasis in original) of which Maxwell regards “important forms of data analysis” (Maxwell, 2013: 105).

There are as much validity concerns for qualitative research as there are for quantitative research and they deal with these threats differently (Maxwell, 2013: 122-3). Maxwell (2013: 122-136) suggests methods and procedures to rule out particular validity concerns. Two particular validity threats that Maxwell (2013: 124-5) points out are researcher bias and reactivity and he suggests explaining these two threats’ possible reflection on the study and how the researcher deals with them as it is impossible to eliminate them.

One particular bias I might have brought to the study is my personal and professional experiences in the field. I have written about my personal and professional experiences that

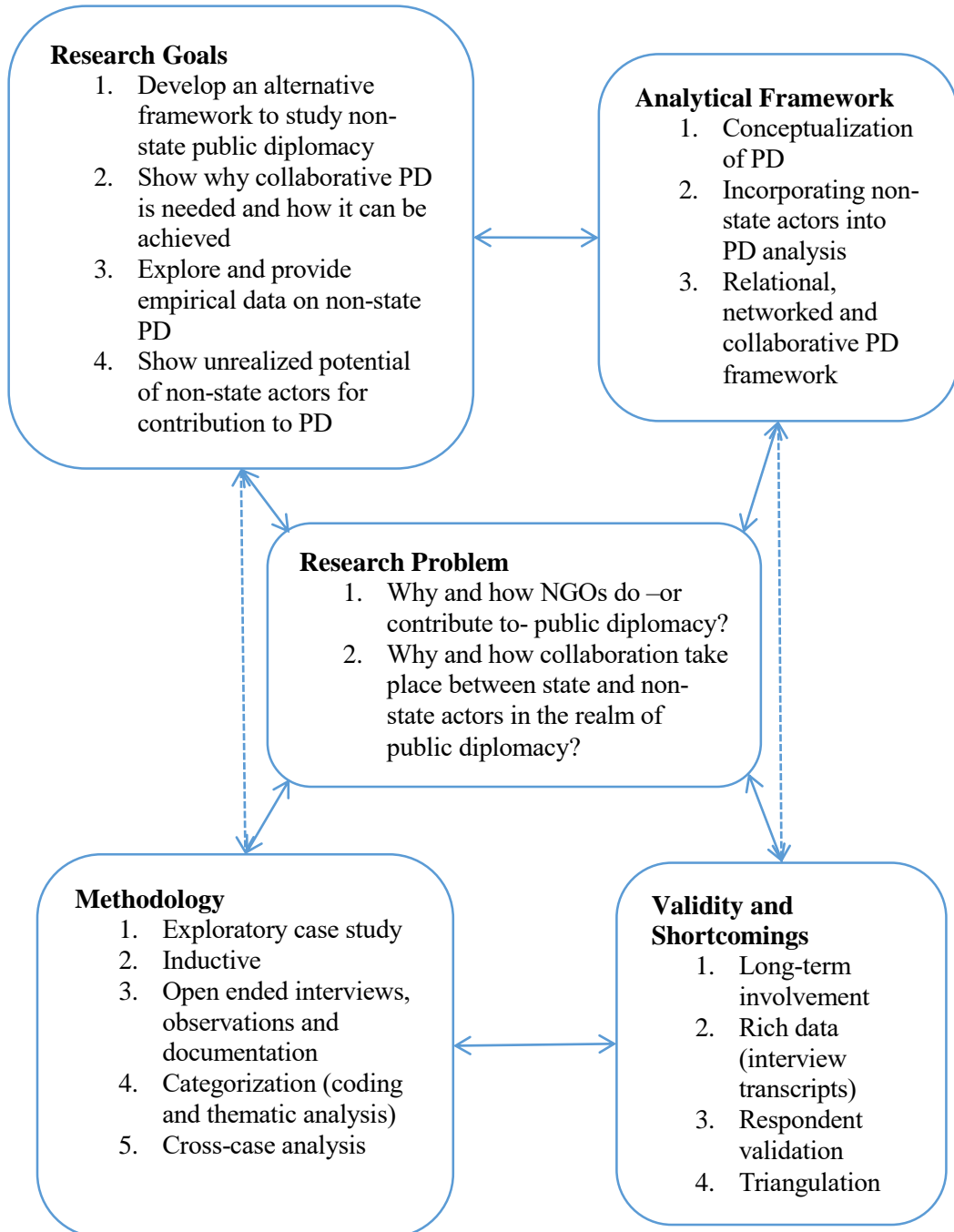
is related to this research in detail in order to keep the “integrity” of research (Maxwell, 2013: 124). Even though the non-state actor, I have been working for, is one of the most related nongovernmental organizations to my research and all the related resources are at my disposal, I decided to exclude it from this research project to at least partially control for this bias.

Furthermore, what I bring to this study from my experiences and values is not to uncritically advocate certain assumptions or values (Strauss, 1987: 11; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992: 14), but rather it is experiential data (or knowledge) (Maxwell, 2013: 44-47; Strauss, 1987: 10-11, 41-42, 63) to enrich my research with “critical subjectivity” which refers to “a quality of awareness in which we do not suppress our primary experience; nor do we allow ourselves to be swept away and overwhelmed by it; rather we raise it to consciousness and use it as part of the inquiry process” (Reason, 1988: 12 quoted in Maxwell 2013: 45). Since it is impossible to eliminate my experiences and values, I wrote about its potential reflection on the research in detail and also tried to critically approach each issue in the research to convert potentially hazardous personal experiences and values into “potential gold” as Strauss (1987: 11) put it.

Reactivity, the researcher’s influence on the participants or settings studied, is also unavoidable and not that serious threat argues Maxwell (2013: 124-5). My advantage in alleviating the reactivity problem was the kind of relationship I built with my participants. As mentioned before, we treated each other as colleagues which made my participants more comfortable talking to me as opposed to being treated as ‘subject’ by a stranger researcher. Indeed, I had familiarity with four of the participants (i.e. JWF, Nittokai, HFA and KCOC) before starting this research and we needed less ice-breaking moves. However, I should also

mention that I felt that some of the participants were more cautious when they talk about collaboration with state agencies, in a way self-censoring what they have to say.

I now go through Maxwell's checklist to deal with validity concerns which includes long-term involvement, rich data, respondent validation and triangulation (Maxwell, 2013: 126-8). I have had relatively long-term involvement both in the field as a practitioner of the phenomenon of my study (i.e. non-state public diplomacy) and repeated contact with the participants. My professional experiences and repeated contact with the participants provided me with a chance to compare and confirm practice and theory. There is a rich data which was mainly based on verbatim transcripts of the interviews, another main indicator of long-term involvement (Maxwell, 2013: 126). Potential validity concerns are also addressed (Maxwell, 2013: 93) by informing participants about the research through informed consent form and by letting them check the data for accuracy in order to achieve respondent validation (Maxwell, 2013: 126-7). Lastly, the research mainly used interview data, but also depended on other data sources such as documentation (brochures, books, newsletters, websites etc.) and observation (including on-site visits). Collecting information from various data sources, i.e. triangulation, reduced the risks of researcher bias and reactivity problems (Maxwell, 2013: 102, 128; Yin, 1994: 91-93).



**Figure 2:** Research design<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Research design is based on “interactive model of research design” (Maxwell, 2013: 4-10).

## **4.2. Sampling**

This multiple case study used replication logic –not sampling– in selecting cases (Yin, 2009: 54; 1994: 45). Each case was chosen either for expected similar results (i.e. literal replication) (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 103; Given, 2008: 209, 754-755; Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005: 14-16; Yin, 2009: 54) or contrasting results “for anticipatable reasons” (i.e. theoretical replication) (Yin, 2009: 54; 1994: 46). Replication logic is very significant for validity of qualitative research which allows analytic generalization without random sampling (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 103, 311; Maxwell, 2013: 97; Yin, 2011: 99-102; Given, 2008: 755; Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005: 14-16; Yin, 2009: 38-43, 53-59; Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 23). The unit of analysis is NGOs from Korea, Japan and Turkey that satisfy CNSP and UN’s (UN, 2003: 16; Salamon and Anheier, 1992: 1) criteria for nonprofit organizations, that are (1) institutionalized to some extent, (2) non-governmental, (3) not-for-profit, (4) self-governing, (5) voluntary to some extent; and also (6) internationally active (have foreign stakeholders) and (7) that have activities in the realm of public diplomacy to some extent. The last criterion is the most subjective criterion among all, and -as mentioned in the literature review- this selection is also guided by the working definition and the analytical framework in this study. The NGOs selected for research include three kinds, (1) NGOs that have public diplomacy agendas; (2) NGOs that are contractors of state’s public diplomacy programs; (3) and lastly NGOs that contribute to some public diplomacy objectives unintentionally. The third category is very inclusive and the boundaries



are not clear. The researcher has to demonstrate sufficient justification for these NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy guided by the working definition and the analytical framework. For example, as discussed in the later chapters, some NGOs' actions may be considered suspicious, aggressive or provocative by the foreign publics where these NGOs operate and they may cause a dislike of their home country and worsen its image through their activities. Such NGOs are not considered 'unintentional contributors to public diplomacy' and not selected for this research. These NGOs can be selected for showing the adverse impacts of NGOs on public diplomacy in another study.

In order to explore non-state public diplomacy, relevant information-rich cases are selected to facilitate in-depth understanding and insight (Patton, 2002, quoted in Braun and Clarke, 2013: 56; Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 424; Maxwell, 2013: 97-99; Silverman, 2010: 141-144; Creswell, 2014: 136, 189; Schutt, 2006: 152) and "to maximize what we can learn" (Stake, 1995: 4). Purposeful selection allowed me to select (1) representative cases which have activities in the realm of public diplomacy (Maxwell, 2013: 98; Mason, 2002: 121); (2) heterogeneous cases for stratification (i.e. range of different activities of development NGOs and advocacy NGOs) (Maxwell, 2013: 98; Braun and Clarke, 2013: 57); (3) cases that attract attention (Maxwell, 2013: 98); (4) accessible and available cases (Maxwell, 2013: 99; Silverman, 2010: 145; Mason, 2002: 121; Schutt, 2006: 152; Patton, 2002: 230 quoted in Braun and Clarke, 2013: 56).

The main focus of this study is the NGOs whose activities overlap with public diplomacy objectives. Therefore, most NGOs that are selected for this research project are those which are grouped as advocacy NGOs in this research, following World Bank's wide classification of nonprofit organizations (Malena, 1995: 14). In order to explore the nexus between

development aid and public diplomacy and to make comparisons possible, at least one development NGOs (referred to as operational NGOs in World Bank's classification (Malena, 1995: 14)) are selected from each country.

Furthermore, at the initial stages of this research project, religious motivations of the NGOs were not taken into account when selecting the cases. The first interviews also did not include any questions on the role of faith in NGOs' activities. However, there were references to faith by the participants even though there were no directly related questions in the interview, which changed my mind to compare also between faith-inspired NGOs and secular NGOs. Once again, the inductive nature of the study allowed this modification.

On the selection of Korean, Japanese and Turkish NGOs, it must be emphasized that the three countries are not chosen as units of analysis, but as legal or cultural contexts where units of analysis (i.e. the selected NGOs) emerged (Kohn, 1987: 714-5). Salamon and Anheier's (1998) Social Origins Model of Nonprofit Sector (which is a modification of Esping-Andersen's work (1990)) analyzes nonprofit sector in different countries based on government social welfare spending and nonprofit scale. Nonprofit sectors in different countries are then categorized as liberal, corporatist, social democratic and statist (Salamon and Anheier, 1998).

Public diplomacy research in general is very state-centric with very little research done on NGO's role in public diplomacy. The little research that is done on non-state public diplomacy (particularly related to the NGOS) and domestic dimension of public diplomacy is mainly concerned with -Western- liberal and/or social democratic and occasionally corporatist countries where civil society flourished more in comparison to statist countries (see e.g. Chitty, 2013; Henrikson, 2005; Huijgh, 2012; Huijgh and Byrne, 2012; Nye, 2004,

2008a; Zatepilina, 2009, 2010; Zatepilina-Monacell, 2012, 2015). It makes sense that the countries where NGOs lack freedoms to operate independently from the governments are less likely places that NGOs would do activities in the realm of public diplomacy on their own. However, democratic ‘statist’ countries which have legal environment where NGOs can operate but have low scores for both social welfare spending and nonprofit scale would make very meaningful contexts to be researched about mainly for two reasons. Firstly, statist countries are less likely contexts where non-state (particularly considering NGOs’ role) public diplomacy would flourish. A research on these countries can present that not only NGOs in -Western- liberal and social democracies, but also NGOs in non-Western statist countries are relevant to public diplomacy and have unrealized potential which can be utilized to maximize public diplomacy outcomes. In turn, this research strengthens the case for non-state public diplomacy through this approach. Secondly, a research on NGOs’ relevance to public diplomacy in statist countries would plug the knowledge gap and provide us with a clearer picture of non-state public diplomacy. Further research, then, can compare the findings in NGOs’ relevance to public diplomacy in liberal and social democracies vis-à-vis NGOs in statist countries.

Korea, Japan and Turkey are considered “statist” since both government social welfare spending and nonprofit scale are low in these three countries (OECD, 2014b; Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier, 2000: 20; Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 34; Şahin and Öztürk, 2008: 22; Choi, 2011). Furthermore, the three countries are latecomers in democratization (Huntington, 1991, 1993b), non-Western countries (Huntington, 1993a) and market economies, but not “liberal market economies” (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 19-21). Therefore, these three countries fit the conditions which make them the least likely contexts -out of other

democratic options in terms of nonprofit sector- where NGOs would be very active and have potential in the realm of public diplomacy.

Korea, Japan and Turkey also share the following conditions: being members of OECD and G20; having GDP (PPP) of more than \$1.4 trillion (World Bank, 2013b); GDP per capita (PPP) of more than \$18,000 (World Bank, 2013a); being ODA donor countries (OECD, 2014a); population of more than 50 million (World Bank, 2013c); and being “high-context” cultures which in the process of transmission of information puts more importance on the context or what is internalized in the transmitting person than the explicit message itself (Hall and Hall, 1987; Hall, 1976: 91, 101; Copeland, 1985). These similarities of Korea, Japan and Turkey as contexts where NGOs emerged and/or operate make literal replication possible through expected similar results (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 103; Given, 2008: 209, 754-755; Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005: 14-16; Yin, 2009: 54).

One of the major differences between these countries is that even though all are considered democracies, Freedom House categorizes Turkey as only partly free (internet partly free and press not free) while qualifying Japan (both internet and press free) and Korea free (Korea’s internet and press partly free) (Freedom House, 2015). Other differences include former power status (i.e. Japan and Turkey have experiences of being great regional powers in history), current power status (i.e. Japan is often regarded as a great power, while Turkey and Korea are seen as middle powers), composition of believers and role of faith in each country (i.e. Turkey has 99.8% Muslims, Japan has 83.9% Shintoism, Korea has 31.6% Christians as major faith (CIA, 2015)) and different historical contexts (e.g. Japanese colonialization, Korean War and democratization movement in Korea; Meiji Restoration, imperialism, atomic bombs and post-Second World War in Japan, clash between secularism and

conservative values in Turkey, military coups, conservatives' rise to power in Turkey). These differences between the three countries as contexts allow theoretical replication through contrasting results "for anticipatable reasons" (i.e. theoretical replication) (Yin, 2009: 54; 1994: 46).

Although, nations are not unit of analysis and comparing the NGOs from different countries not the main aim of this research project, Korean, Japanese and Turkish NGOs are compared to find out if there are any patterns that mark commonalities and differences. Based on the literature on public diplomacy (Rasmussen, 2009; Seo, 2013; Yun, 2005, 2006, 2008; Zaharna, 2009), it is assumed that the similarities listed above create similar contexts for NGOs from different countries to emerge and operate. Furthermore, the differences in the contexts listed above might have influenced the NGOs' work and hence their relevance to public diplomacy (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006).

I would like to elaborate more on the accessibility and availability of the cases. Initially, I was planning to select more than forty NGOs from eight countries (i.e. Korea, Japan, Turkey, United States, France, Australia, Russia and China) for the first three objectives of purposeful selection listed above, and also to allow particular comparisons (Maxwell, 2013: 98). However, this objective was too demanding for a Ph.D. dissertation as rightly pointed out by my adviser and others. Therefore, I decided to reduce it to about 15 NGOs from three countries maintaining the first three objectives of purposeful sampling. Accessibility and availability played a very important role in this selection. I have had already contacted about forty NGOs from eight countries, but could not get response from most of them. The three countries that I got most responses were Turkey (which is also my home country), Korea

(which is also the country of my university and present residence) and Japan (which is also relatively easier to travel from Korea). China was also one possibility as I got response from a Korea-based Chinese NGO whose Director was my acquaintance. However, I chose other options over China particularly because of two reasons. Firstly, there were question marks whether any of the Chinese NGOs that I contacted, probably except for the Korea-based Chinese NGO, fit the above-mentioned UN criteria (UN, 2003) for being regarded as non-profit non-governmental organizations. Secondly, the common properties that Korea, Japan and Turkey has, as contexts that NGOs operate, compared to China, and other countries for that matter, allowed literal replication (Yin, 2009: 38-9). Further research on the countries that I excluded from this research and others would allow more cross-country comparisons, or to be more exact, cross-cluster comparisons such as democratic countries vs. undemocratic countries, liberal democracies vs. statist democracies, Western countries vs. non-Western countries and former or current great powers vs. smaller powers.

Gaining access to the setting and building research relationships were particularly easier with Korean and Turkish NGOs (Maxwell, 2013: 90-1; Silverman, 2010: 145). I was familiar with the people and activities of two Turkish NGOs (i.e. Nittokai and JWF) and two Korean NGOs (i.e. KCOC and HFA) even before starting this research. Other NGOs were also welcoming and excited to introduce their NGOs to me. My ability to speak Turkish and Korean fluently and easier access (i.e. ability to make on-site visits) must have played some role in this outcome as the participants found it relatively easier to communicate with me. Japanese NGOs were also very welcoming and open when I told them I could visit their offices in Tokyo.

I have contacted 20 NGOs from three countries, seven from Korea, seven from Japan and

six from Turkey. In total, 15 NGOs are included in this research project, six from Korea, four from Japan and five from Turkey. Four NGOs, three from Japan and one from Korea did not respond to my requests. One Turkish NGO, which could have been the largest and most active NGO in my selection and a perfect example of non-state public diplomacy rejected to have an interview with me because they want to be “humble.” They did not respond to my insisting e-mails later on. On the other hand, one Turkish NGO, that is TCF, told me that the abundant data available on their website could be used, but they did not have time for a more in-depth interview. Because, the NGO is very much relevant to my research, TCF is included as a case.

All of the six Korean NGOs selected for this research are registered as “people-to-people diplomacy NGOs” on Korea Foundation website (Korea Foundation, 2014). Two Turkish NGOs (i.e. JWF and Nittokai) are selected because I was familiar with their activities and was assured that their activities are very much related to my research. Two other Turkish NGOs (i.e. Turkeyfe and TCF) and three Japanese NGOs (i.e. AAR, NPO1 and FEC) are found on internet and included them because their activities make them information-rich cases for non-state public diplomacy as discussed above. Furthermore, one Turkish NGO (i.e. DF) and one Japanese NGO (SGI) are selected because they are well-known NGOs in their countries and their activities are also relevant to my research.

### **4.3. Data Collection**

In order to explore and better understand the nature of non-state public diplomacy in three

countries, data about fifteen NGOs are collected from three main sources: (1) interviews, (2) observation, (3) documentation (brochures, books, newsletters, websites etc.).

I have conducted semi-structured interviews with 16 representatives from 12 NGOs. Three of these interviews (Nittokai, JWF and Turkeyfe) were conducted via Skype application because of the distance between the participants and the researcher. However, I have met all three participants in person either before the Skype interview or after. We talked about the research and their activities, but the time was not available to conduct face-to-face interviews at the time. Two other NGO participants (AAR and DF) were interviewed via e-mail because of both distance and also their preferences. All of the NGOs were contacted again to clarify interview contents or for additional questions. These follow-up questions were asked to the participants via phone, e-mail and text message.

I have interviewed one representative from eleven NGOs, three representatives from MOFAS, two representatives from VANK and two representatives from FEC. During the interviews with KOVA, SGI, FEC and NPO1, other staff were also present taking notes and/or assisting their senior representative.

All interviews with Korean NGO representatives were conducted face-to-face and in the Korean language (except for one which was done in English). The researcher and interviewees did not have any communication problem speaking in Korean. Indeed, speaking in their mother-tongue, Korean interviewees felt more comfortable and spoke more fluently. Only one NGO representative (ISR), who is a fluent English speaker and a professor at the same time, preferred speaking in English.

Interviews with representatives of three Japanese NGOs were also done face-to-face. Two



of these interviews were conducted in English since the participants were very fluent in English. The third interview was done with the help of a Japanese-English translator who is a staff at the same NGO and fluent in English. The interview with the fourth Japanese NGO (AAR) was conducted via e-mail.

Interviews with all Turkish participants were conducted via Skype (Turkayfe, JWF and Nittokai) or via e-mail (DF) since the representatives of those NGOs live outside Korea and I could not immediately meet them because of time and financial restrictions. However, I met three Turkish participants from Turkayfe, JWF and Nittokai during the course of writing this dissertation and discussed about their activities informally. Interviews with Turkish participants were done in Turkish, both my and their native language.

All of the face-to-face interviews in Korea and in Japan were conducted in the offices of the NGOs giving me a chance to observe their working environment. I have also visited the offices of Turkish NGOs JWF (Istanbul) and Nittokai (Tokyo) during the course of my research.

All of the face-to-face and Skype interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees and verbatim transcribed in the language interviews were conducted. I employed a Korean university student to transcribe Korean interviews to be more accurate and to save time. E-mail interviews were more structured than face-to-face and skype interviews.

Most of the participants who has responded to my interview questions were top executives of their NGOs. There were five –Executive- Directors, two Presidents, one Co-founder, one General Affairs Manager, two Secretary Generals, one Vice-President, two Assistant

Managers, one Team Manager, one Program Manager, one PR Manager and one Researcher. Interestingly, all of the Japanese and Turkish interviewees were male, while almost all, except for two, Korean interviewees were female. The details of the interviewees are given in a table in Appendix C.

The interviews done for this research project pass the two tests Rubin and Rubin (1995) put forward: (1) completeness which is “what you hear provides an overall sense of the meaning of a concept, theme, or process” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 72) and (2) saturation which is that “you gain confidence that you are learning little that is new from subsequent interview[s]” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 73).

I have got Seoul National University Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for my procedures for the data collection through interviews. The privacy and confidentiality of the participants are respected. In the IRB-approved informed consent form, all NGO participants but one allowed me to use their real name and their NGO’s name. However, I decided to use only their titles and the name of their NGOs since it is enough for the purposes of this research. Only NPO1 participant asked me to use a pseudonym. When the participants are asked to check their interview transcripts, some of them demanded for changes to some parts because it could put them in difficult situation, and I duly followed their requests not to cause them any problem. Informed consent forms can be found in the appendices A and B.

I did nine observations of meetings and events of six NGOs (KCOC, MOFAS, ISR, Nittokai, HFA and JWF) during the course of this research by attending their activities. Indeed, I had opportunities to meet, observe and familiarize with activities of two Turkish (JWF, Nittokai) and two Korean NGOs (HFA, KCOC) before I started this research project. By visiting the offices of almost all Korean and Japanese NGOs (except for AAR) and two

Turkish NGOs (JWF and Nittokai), I had a chance to observe a glance of their work and office environment.

Lastly, documents of each NGO such as brochures, books, newsletters, internet sites and other resources were used to complement data from interviews and observations.

## **4.4. Introduction of NGOs**

### **4.4.1. Korean NGOs**

#### **4.4.1.1. Korea NGO Council for Overseas Cooperation (KCOC) (국제개발협력민간협의회)**

KCOC homepage (KCOC, 2014a: 2) describes the organization as:

Established in 1999, KCOC is the council of Korean NGOs working in the areas of international development and humanitarian assistance and has 108 member organizations as of December 2013.<sup>22</sup> It has its missions to build alliances and promote networking among NGOs to cooperate with one another and coordinate their activities to enhance effectiveness and accountability of NGOs and strengthen the capability of their staff; to call on civil society and government to

---

<sup>22</sup> As of June 2015, KCOC has 122 member NGOs (interview, KCOC General Secretary).

act against global poverty and inequality.

KCOC's missions are listed as (KCOC, 2014b; 2014a: 2):

[1] Foster awareness of global poverty eradication for the people, motivate their active participation in the effort and teach them to become global citizens. [2] Demand the government to establish political will and to engage institutionally in the international community efforts to eradicate poverty around the globe. [3] Strengthen cooperation between development NGOS, to promote further alliance and networking to ensure effective coordination for relevant activities. [4] Strengthen the sense of responsibility and capacity of development NGOs and the staff.

#### 4.4.1.2. **Korea Overseas Volunteers Association (KOVA) (한국해외봉사단원연합회)**

KOVA is introduced on its official homepage (KOVA, 2015) as:

KOVA was established in 1992 by the members who have ... participated in voluntary acts through the KOICA (Korea International Cooperation Agency). Through the experiences of KOV, KOVA want to expend understanding about the 3rd world and volunteerism. KOVA was formed for the global village estrangement class where the help is necessary and a common good social activity. Founding Goal: [Fir]st, Volunteerism cultivation, ability reinforcement as a regional experts and to support KOV activities advertisement. [Seco]nd, Domestic and overseas volunteer activities participation, contributes to build a multi-cultural open society especially for the migrant workers and the mixed-race

marriage families to support language, education, lives in Korea. [Thi]rd, the developing countries encouragement of learning enterprise leads and deepens international good-fellowship and contributes world peace with the connection of various nations civic society.

#### **4.4.1.3. Hope to the Future Association (HFA) (미래희망기구)**

Hope to the Future Association is described on its brochure (HFA, 2015: 2) as:

Hope to the Future Association (HFA) is a non-profit association to help children in difficulties with education and sustainable sponsorship. HFA carries out diverse projects designed to provide children around the world with a better quality of life.

Its mission statement points to two core goals (HFA, 2015: 3):

- (1) To allow the children around the world to have a better quality of life.
- (2) To give hope to the children who suffer from poverty.

#### **4.4.1.4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spouses' Organization (MOFAS) (외교부 배우자회)**

MOFAS' homepage is exclusive to members and is in Korean language. MOFAS is

described on its homepage (MOFAS, 2015) as:<sup>23</sup>

The main objectives of the organization are strengthening friendship among Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff's spouses and putting neighbor love into action in order to create a good society, and beyond that to improve Korea's international standing and to contribute to civilian friendly and cooperative relations. In order to realize these goals [different departments] of MOFAS do the following activities: (1) Preparing and providing various general education courses and education programs which are needed for life in overseas missions. (2) Operating MOFAS homepage to speed up information exchange among members. (3) Improving friendship and doing exchanges with spouses of foreign diplomats in Korea. (4) Hosting charity bazaar (1989~) to help neighbors in need and supporting Hundred Won Every Day Aiding Neighbors Association which is under Charity Department.

#### 4.4.1.5. Voluntary Agency Network of Korea (VANK) (사이버 외교사절단 반크)

VANK is described on its homepage (VANK, 2015a) as:

VANK (Voluntary Agency Network of Korea) is a cyber diplomatic organization which started in 1999... Since 2005, VANK youth members have been using cyber diplomatic programs in their club activities in schools to expand their scope of activity. At present, there are about 400 VANK clubs... Through exchange with

---

<sup>23</sup> This is my unofficial translation since MOFAS did not have an official English translation available at the time of writing this dissertation.

people around the globe, Koreans gain more opportunities to introduce Korea naturally... With the help of VANK cyber diplomats, those who dream of becoming the main players in changing the image of Korea in our global society, people all over the world are now changing their perception of Korea... They even send letters to publishers requesting to change the title of the Sea of Japan in foreign text books to the correct title the East Sea... An ordinary student in elementary, middle or high school could become a diplomat representing Korea if they were presented with the right dream and vision.

#### 4.4.1.6. **International Sports Relations Foundation (ISR) (국제스포츠외교재단)**

ISR's homepage (ISR, 2015b) describes the organization as:

The iSR Foundation is a non-profit organization based in Seoul that seeks to advance academic research, policy analysis, and professional development of sports diplomacy in Korea and abroad. We are helmed by leading policymakers, scholars, and practitioners dedicated to promoting sports relations domestically and internationally.

ISR's activities include forums, distribution of sports equipment, supporting of youth centers, promotion of taekwondo and research and education about sports (ISR, 2015c). ISR aims "to assist national governmental bodies and sports organizations at all levels in their policy development and execution for sport diplomatic activities. The iSR is also dedicated to preparing and training individuals to become active agents on the international sports stage" (ISR, 2015d).

## **4.4.2. Japanese NGOs**

### **4.4.2.1. The International Friendship Exchange Council (FEC) (民間外交推進協会)**

FEC is introduced in the following words on its homepage (FEC, 2015):

FEC is a non-profit, international exchange organization established 30 years ago, on May 1, 1983, for the aim of deepening international understanding and friendship... We have some 1,000 corporate and individual members including major corporations. Our activities are participated by government people and foreign representatives as well. We promote exchanges with foreign countries, convey people's voices on Japan's diplomacy to the Government people, facilitate the understanding of the Government's diplomatic policies by enlightening people through our activities, and also contribute to our member companies in their international business strategies.

Its activities include the following international meetings with foreign dignitaries, international seminars with foreign ambassadors in Japan and international seminars for “Ladies of FEC” or LFEC (FEC, 2015). Through these activities FEC aims to “bridge between Japanese citizens and companies and foreign countries and companies” to enhance mutual economic exchanges between Japan and other countries (FEC, 2015).



#### 4.4.2.2. Soka Gakkai International (SGI) (創価学会インタナショナル)

Soka Gakkai International is described on its official Facebook page in the following words (SGI, 2015a):

Soka Gakkai International (SGI) is a socially engaged Buddhist association linking more than 12 million people worldwide... The idea that a self-motivated change in even a single person positively affects the larger web of life is summed up in this quote from SGI President Daisaku Ikeda: ‘A great human revolution in just a single individual will help achieve a change in the destiny of a nation and, further, will enable a change in the destiny of all humankind.’ SGI organizations around the world have diverse programs promoting peace, culture, education, human rights and sustainability.

#### 4.4.2.3. NPO1

NPO1 is an advocacy NGO that focuses on academic exchanges between Japanese, Chinese and Korean intellectuals. It has also think-tank function. Since NPO1 participants wanted to keep their organization anonymous, the introduction here is not detailed. More information on this NGO can be found in Chapter 5.

#### 4.4.2.4. **Association for Aid and Relief, Japan (AAR) (難民を助ける会)**

AAR's homepage (AAR Japan, 2015a) describes AAR as:

AAR Japan was founded in 1979 by Yukika SOHMA, our first chairperson, with a mission to help refugees from Indochina, and as a civil organization without any political, religious, or ideological affiliations. It has since then grown into an international organization approved and registered by the United Nations... We hold impartiality to politics, religion, and ideology as one of our principles. As such, we try not to rely solely on public funds from the United Nations or from governments... Our overseas and domestic activities are centered around the notion of providing long-term assistance to those who are placed in the most vulnerable positions, even among people who are generally under difficult conditions.

AAR's main activities include emergency assistance, support for persons with disabilities, action against infectious diseases and raising public awareness (AAR Japan, 2015a).

### 4.4.3. **Turkish NGOs**

#### 4.4.3.1. **Journalists and Writers Foundation (JWF) (Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı)**

JWF is introduced on its official homepage (JWF, 2015a) as:

Journalist and Writers Foundation (JWF) is a non-governmental organization in general consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). JWF aims to promote peaceful coexistence through dialogue and understanding at global, regional and local levels. Since its establishment in 1994, JWF has organized events promoting peace, tolerance and dialogue. There are five platforms that work under JWF umbrella: Abant Platform, Intercultural Dialogue Platform (IDP), Medialog Platform, Women's Platform, and Dialogue Eurasia Platform (DAP). Through its activities, JWF has brought together thousands of people from various backgrounds to discuss topics including but not limited to politics, religion, art, philosophy, and science in order to establish common ground and, ultimately, peace. JWF also occasionally holds award ceremonies to support inspirational individuals who contributed to peace and dialogue in their communities.

#### 4.4.3.2. **Turkayfe**

Turkayfe<sup>24</sup> started as an online project which is “Turkayfe.org” and later introduced offline events too. Below is an excerpt from Turkayfe's Co-founders' article (Sevin and Salcigil White, 2011: 87) describing the initial project:

Turkayfe.org is a secure, user-oriented social media outlet, dedicated to

---

<sup>24</sup> Turkayfe meets the criteria of being a unit of analysis in this research which is discussed above. However, even though it is “institutionalized to some extent” (UN, 2003: 16; Salamon and Anheier, 1992: 1), it is not a registered NGO. Turkayfe does its online activities on the internet domain; and offline activities through other registered NGOs.

promoting Turkey through the experiences of real people. It is possible for every individual and organization interested in Turkey to create new content and access a variety of information provided by supporters. Contributors can share information, articles, photos, audio clips, videos, presentations, resources, and other personal experiences about the country. This knowledge database will satisfy the tangible expectations of target audiences by informing them about the physical aspects of the brand image, as well as the intangible ones through addressing their emotions via personal stories.

#### 4.4.3.3. **Deniz Feneri (DF)**

Deniz Feneri is introduced on its Turkish homepage in the following words (Deniz Feneri, 2015):<sup>25</sup>

The charity movement started as a TV program called “City and Ramadan” during the Ramadan month of 1996 and first transformed into a weekly TV program named ‘Deniz Feneri,’ and later received ISO 9001 Certification for the association with the same name in 2002. Together with tens of thousands of donors and volunteers since its foundation, it has given food, accommodation, health aid and monetary aid to 500,000 families in Turkey and in the world, and the number is increasing every day... [Deniz Feneri] received Outstanding Service Award from Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 2007.

---

<sup>25</sup> This is my unofficial translation, since DF did not have an official English translation available at the time of writing this dissertation.

#### 4.4.3.4. Turkey Japan Cultural Dialog Society (Nittokai) (日本トルコ文化交流会)

Nittokai's<sup>26</sup> homepage is mainly in Japanese. Its English page (Nittokai, 2013a) introduces the organization as:

History: [1] Founded in 2006 by Turkish and Japanese volunteers living in Tokyo. [2] Granted NPO (Non-Profit Organization) status in 2011. Mission: [1] Promote cultural exchange and dialog to strengthen bridges between Turkish and Japanese societies. [2] Promote understanding and respect of both cultures through common and different values. [3] Cultivate friendship through cooperation. [4] Identify and propose solutions to common social problems. [5] Organize activities in cases of disaster and crisis in both countries.

Nittokai's main activities include conferences and seminars on various subjects mainly related to, but not limited to Japan and Turkey; exchange activities which include friendship dinners, outdoor activities, Turkey trips, occasional Japan trips; and lastly social responsibility activities such as helping earthquake victims in Japan and in Turkey, painting and essay competition and Award Ceremony for NGOs (interview, Nittokai Executive Director; Nittokai, 2013a).

---

<sup>26</sup> In this research project, Nittokai is regarded a Turkish NGOs since its Directors and executives are Turkish; otherwise it is founded in Japan and legally a Japanese NGO with no branch in Turkey.

#### 4.4.3.5. Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)

Established in 2000 in the U.S. as “a tax-exempt public charitable organization supported entirely by private donations, with offices in Boston, Istanbul and Washington DC” (TCF, 2015a), TCF’s<sup>27</sup> main goals are as follows (TCF, 2015a):

1. Promoting and preserving Turkish culture and heritage worldwide, through original programs and cooperation with like-minded organizations.
2. Supporting education, particularly in the area of humanities, for disadvantaged students in Turkey.
3. Supporting research, documentation and publication in the humanities related to Turkey.
4. Supporting the preservation of Turkish cultural heritage abroad.
5. Helping to build cultural bridges between Turkey and other countries to support a better understanding and appreciation of Turkish cultural heritage.

---

<sup>27</sup> In this research project, TCF is regarded a Turkish NGOs since its Directors and executives are Turkish; otherwise it is founded in the U.S. and legally a U.S. NGO with a branch in Istanbul.

## 5. CASE STUDY

An analytical framework is built in Chapter 3 to explore non-state public diplomacy from relational and network dimensions of public diplomacy that justify collaborative initiatives. In this chapter, interview data and other data related to the NGOs are analyzed guided by that framework.

In the analytical framework, it is argued that in the realm of public diplomacy some NGOs have certain qualities that make them advantageous in particularly long-term public diplomacy initiatives. Those initiatives can be their own while they can also be part of a collaborative initiative as a partner or contractor of the state, or some other organization for that matter. In such collaborative initiatives, it is argued that state agencies have certain weaknesses, while some NGOs have potential to “complement” or “supplement” (Young, 2006: 39-40) public diplomacy initiatives. It is not the case however that all NGOs have these advantages. The data below presents potential of NGOs for public diplomacy with their strengths and weaknesses.

In order to generate a holistic argument of the fifteen cases and present an aggregate explanation of the research problem, a cross-case analysis is conducted based on the analytical framework built in Chapter 3 with some modifications subject to the incoming data (Yin, 2009: 173; Given, 2008: 110-111; Stake, 1995: 25; 2010: 182; Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 424; Yin, 1994: 137). Following theory-building logic, in each section a different aspect of public diplomacy is analyzed by dispersing individual cases throughout each section so that they lead to aggregate conclusions (Yin, 2009: 171, 177-8; Stake, 1995: 74; 2010: 70; Yin, 1994: 135, 140). The case study data gathered for this research project is

analyzed in the four sections below to allow cross-case analysis of different aspects of public diplomacy (Yin, 1994: 135; 2009: 171). The organization of the chapter is in line with the organization of the Analytical Framework Chapter with some modifications based on the data.

### **5.1. Relational Public Diplomacy and Selected NGOs**

Relational public diplomacy is based on relationship management theory, two-way symmetrical communication and dialogic approaches. Furthermore, relational public diplomacy necessitates treating the counterparts as stakeholders rather than merely as passive publics or target audiences. Relationship building can be more sustainable as much as the relationships emphasize common interests, shared goals, mutual understanding and mutual benefit. For successful public relations, it is argued that stakeholders' interests should be taken into account making the communication symmetrical in addition to being two-way (Grunig and Hunt, 1984).

It is argued that relationship-building requires long-term focus which makes it difficult for states to manage and maintain (Nye, 2004: 109-110; Brown, 2013b: 246; 2010: 7; Gilboa, 2008: 73; Zaharna, 2009: 91-92; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 11; Nye, 2008a: 103). This part aims to analyze selected NGOs' activities and approaches in line with relational public diplomacy that is based on symmetrical two-way communication, relationship-building and management and dialogue. Furthermore, NGOs' communication and collaboration with host countries' state agencies and NGOs are also inquired.



### **5.1.1. Lack of Relationship-building and Asymmetrical Approaches**

Not only states, NGOs too may lack relationship building or symmetrical communication skills. These skills may not even be necessary for the kind of activities some NGOs do. Alternatively, even though NGOs have certain potential advantages for relational public diplomacy, they may not have yet realized that potential. Especially in the case of development NGOs, they are more inclined to see the publics as benefactors of their activities rather than as stakeholders. Therefore, there is a tendency to approach them asymmetrically and in a one-way manner. The aim of this research project is not to judge whether NGOs' approaches are right or wrong, but rather exploring NGOs' potential for public diplomacy initiatives based on the analytical framework established in Chapter 3.

Secretary General of KCOC, an umbrella organization of 122 Korean NGOs, says that most of their member NGOs prefer to work with Koreans in the local areas and do not work together with local stakeholders as much: "most of KCOC members are Christian-based NGOs. Finding local contacts for overseas projects is what divides success and failure. Instead of sending someone to look after the project, NGOs mostly get in touch with Korean Christian missionaries in those countries to do their activities."

The interview question was related to NGOs' relations with the locals overseas, but her answer pointed out a very important aspect of relational public diplomacy to do with faith-based organizations and missionaries. From a relational public diplomacy perspective, the statement above points out two weaknesses of these NGOs in the field. The first weakness is the asymmetrical approach of missionaries as opposed to symmetrical dialogic approach.

The second weakness is that local stakeholders are not consulted as much and their interests are not taken into account. In other words, relationships are not built with local stakeholders based on mutuality and shared interests.

Faith-based organizations have much potential for public diplomacy outcomes. They have mobilization capacity that can create extra financial and human resources, and they have networks and established relationships in many parts of the world (Davis et al., 2011: 108). However, from a relational public diplomacy approach, this potential can be limited or even shattered when the one-way asymmetric objective of converting others cast suspicion on their other activities. Furthermore, using dialogue as a shield for the real agenda of eventually converting others would also not work for ongoing public diplomacy, since relationship building (or management) is not a single shot game, but a repeated game as in game theory terminology. In the long-term, “truth and veracity are considered essential, much more than a mere persuasive tactic” (Signitzer and Coombs, 1992: 140). In short, propagating religion—especially in an aggressive manner- is an asymmetrical communication form and in direct contradiction with a dialogic approach; and in turn puts public diplomacy initiatives in jeopardy.<sup>28</sup> Regarding the missionaries, KCOC representative continued that:

The missionaries that NGOs work together with sometimes focus too much on propagating their religion. Some of those Korean Christian missionaries are very aggressive and radical. In other countries where they go, these missionaries get exposed, people know them. Each country also regards their own religion very

---

<sup>28</sup> It should be noted that, this statement and others related to missionary work is from a (relational) public diplomacy approach and is regardless of the religion that is propagated, be it Christianity, Islam, Buddhism or else. From other perspectives, propagating one’s religion may have merits for an individual or an organization, but my discussion is based on the relational public diplomacy framework.

highly and the activities of these missionaries are inspected by the authorities. They become suspicious in the eyes of governments of those countries. They may even cause diplomatic problems with those countries. Therefore, Korean government does not support such NGOs anymore.

According to her, Korean government realized the problems those aggressive missionaries cause to the interests of Korea in those countries and such NGOs do not get much support from the government any more. Indeed, financing missionary NGOs would both jeopardize any state's public diplomacy objectives (that include its image and reputation) and also create problems of taxation going to represent interests only of a particular segment of the society, a voluntary failure Salamon (1987: 40-41) called philanthropic particularism. Furthermore, some NGOs also perceived the problems of such one-way asymmetric approach cause to their interests and projects overseas and they decided to distinguish their NGO activities such as humanitarian aid and development from missionary propaganda. KCOC Secretary General explains:

Christians basically have goals such as to spread the words of God and even helping out a young lamb who lost its way. These are characteristics of Christianity. One can also regard these as the content of our international development and cooperation activities. Feeding, accommodating and curing the needy people is what Christians usually do. Korean churches grew very large and they realized that Churches must draw a line between doing directly church activities and these activities. Many churches (names some of them) found NGO organizations based on Korean missionaries to do these activities. In the case of a member NGO (names the NGO), a priest founded this NGO with this purpose and worked with missionaries in the beginning. However, as of now it cut off its

relations with the missionaries altogether and instead dispatch staff overseas. As a result, it grew into a very large organization having donations over 100 billion won (roughly about 100 million dollars).

Even though not asked a question related to religion, Secretary General of KOVA also touched upon the issue of Korean missionaries' activities in the nonprofit sector. He feels the need to distinguish their organization from those with "religious colors:"

If you look at the characteristics of Korean NGOs, they usually do overseas activities using their networks which are mostly with strong religious tendencies. They might have missionary objectives as well as other objectives such as sharing based on goodwill, devotion and contribution to others. We do not have such religious colors, but have pure objective of returning our experiences and abilities of having been volunteer corps to Korean society and also overseas.

When asked about SGI's general activities and principles, Director of SGI also mentioned propagation of religion. He sees the limitation of missionary activities for long lasting solutions to problems:

Soka Gakkai is an organization of lay practitioners of Nichiren Buddhism... It engages in spreading Buddhist humanism and participates in peace-related activities for the sake of building a better society based on a core philosophy of respect for the absolute dignity of life... Propagating Buddhist teaching is not enough to create peace and contribute to prosperity of the society... While not denying the relevance of diplomacy on a political and economic level, honorary President Daisaku Ikeda has continued to engage in people's diplomacy with a firm belief that an enduring spiritual foundation based on mutual understanding

and friendship can best be constructed through heart-to-heart, people-to-people exchanges.

As mentioned above, faith-based organizations have great potential for public diplomacy. However, this potential can only be realized when there is no clash of interests or “clash of ignorance” (Said, 2001) between the organization and the local stakeholders. Apparently, this is possible in two cases. First case in which faith-based organizations’ potential for public diplomacy can be realized is when these organizations operate in places where they are welcomed and appreciated for what they are and what they do. An example of this is given by KCOC Secretary General about monks who are respected and welcomed for their development cooperation in developing countries that are populated by Buddhists: “the status of being a monk is very much respected in those countries, so their activities are a lot calmer (stable) and so they can do better in a friendlier (intimate) way.”<sup>29</sup>

Second case in which faith-based organizations’ potential for public diplomacy can be realized is when these faith-based organizations take into account the interests of their stakeholders following a two-way symmetrical approach. From a dialogic standpoint, accepting others as they are and emphasizing shared objectives and mutual interests would vitalize these organizations’ potential (Gülen, 1996: 155-156; Yasmeen, 2008: 225; Sleaf and Sener, 2014: 23-24). KCOC Secretary General talks of another positive change: “recently, since the young activists speak English very well and are also open-minded, when they go overseas they meet local NGO people, exchange opinions with them and also form partnerships and sign MOU with their organizations.”

---

<sup>29</sup> I should note based on my observation that she seemed to be comparing how different faith-based NGOs are received in different countries in a professional manner rather than having any emotional biases.

KCOC's member organizations heavily rely upon their Korean networks. Hope to the Future (HFA) NGO also does its international activities through other Koreans. Therefore, it cannot make relationship-building with the local stakeholders, and actually it does not have to. HFA sends humanitarian aid to African countries through other Korean NGOs or Korean individuals rather than sending staff there. This is a choice to reduce administrative costs in order to send more aid to the needy people. HFA's Team Manager explains:

Of course going to poor countries like in Africa and directly giving (humanitarian aid) is very meaningful. But as you know there are costs if you are to go there yourself. We do not want to spare even one plane ticket to go there to reduce costs. There are organizations that we have connection with. For example, there is Africa Future Foundation (based in Korea) which was founded based on a hospital and they build hospitals in Africa. They need to send medical devices; and periodically doctors and nurses go there to volunteer. Therefore, we send the goods, sneakers, school supplies and other things through them. Also, in Sudan we have ties with Lim Heung-See, Coach of South Sudan National Football Team. We send the goods we collected with a container. He receives them in Sudan and gives them to needy people.

KOVA is a special NGO. It is similar to an alumni association of Korean volunteer corps (currently called World Friends Korea) sent by KOICA to developing countries. KOVA's members are those who have spent two years as volunteer corps in those countries. During their term as volunteer corps, they establish relationships with the locals. KOVA uses these Korean volunteer corps for its activities overseas rather than building relations with local NGOs or authorities itself:

Before volunteer corps go overseas, we introduce them to KOVA's activities and establish partnership with them. Then while they do their activities for two years in those regions, we collaborate with them on selecting scholarship recipients and aid benefactors among poor people, donation activities, other related aid activities and introducing our culture.

ISR's activities can be categorized roughly into three categories: humanitarian aid, education and advocacy. In the case of humanitarian aid, ISR also goes through personal networks of its President who is also a Member of Korean National Assembly. These personal networks are Koreans overseas including the Korean embassies. However, ISR's identity and purpose forces it to change this approach and establish relations with foreigners. Executive Director (Board Member) of ISR says that "so far, it was the President's activities, now it's becoming more systematic, more organized, more institutionalized. Because it's been only two years now; it takes time for us to establish our network and work through the normal ways."

In the case of Turkeyfe, its activities are beyond one-way asymmetrical communication, but are short of relationship-building and symmetrical communication. Related with the discussion above, Turkeyfe also goes through Turkish networks it has overseas, especially in the United States where its three founders were based. On that, Co-founder of Turkeyfe says that "at Boston University and Harvard University we needed halls; in Washington we needed to hire a parking lot. It was easier to go through the student clubs... Those who supported us were all Turkish." As a nation-branding project, it can be considered closer to the asymmetrical information framework (Zaharna, 2009: 90); but this has also to do with the lack of human resources to build and maintain relations. Co-founder elaborates on

relationship building:

Building long-term relationships require human resources to maintain them. Unfortunately, as a volunteer project, we could not achieve that yet. Leaving foreign stakeholders or audiences aside, we had difficulties to do long-term projects together with our Turkish partners. Even though, we are interested in building relations, we created a branding strategy that features people only. Our expectation is that people who meet on our website or during our events maintain their relations, or keep researching what they heard or learned (on the website or during the events).

Voluntary Agency Network of Korea (VANK) is a Korean NGO famous for its advocacy of Korea's interests all over the world. VANK is a resource-rich organization bringing together enthusiasts that have similar interests of making foreign friends and informing them about Korea. VANK since the early days of its foundation emphasized relationship-building with foreigners and making friends with them over penpal sites. Its main objective was to inform foreigners about Korea and to correct any prejudices or mistaken information they might have about Korea.

VANK follows two different communication approaches. Firstly, on an organizational basis, VANK has been following a rather one-way asymmetric approach. For some it may be propaganda (e.g. Japan or [about.com](http://about.com) site's administrators), for others it may be correcting misinformation (e.g. Korean MOFA); but either way it was still one-way asymmetric in many ways. VANK started to change or diversify its asymmetrical approach. This change and VANK's second approach are elaborated in the next section.

TCF is a cultural center interested in promoting Turkish culture to foreigners, mainly to



Americans. Its first four main goals, which are given in the previous chapter, are related to promotion of Turkish culture while the fifth goal is concerned with “building cultural bridges between Turkey and other countries,” but again for the ultimate goal of “support[ing] a better understanding and appreciation of Turkish cultural heritage” (TCF, 2015a). Its projects are categorized as Turkish Culture Portal Turkish Music Portal, Turkish Cuisine Culture, Turkish Cultural Heritage, Culture and Education (related to Turkey) and SOFA (Sculpture Objects & Functional Art) Fairs (related to Turkey) (TCF, 2015e). All of these projects aim to promote Turkish culture to foreigners. These projects target an audience who have interest in Turkish culture or probably more generally in foreign cultures. From a relational public diplomacy perspective, these projects, which are best examples of non-state cultural diplomacy, are considered one-way asymmetrical, or two-way asymmetrical at best considering the cultural exchange programs, but short of two-way symmetrical in any case (see also Fisher, 2009: 253). However, it is also possible that relationships with foreign stakeholders are built and maintained through the opportunities created during one-way cultural exposure. It is difficult to confirm, though, whether and how such relationships are built and maintained.

### **5.1.2. Relationship-building and Symmetrical Approaches**

So far in this section, we have discussed the asymmetric approaches and lack of contact with local stakeholders of selected NGOs in terms of relational public diplomacy. It should be reiterated once again that even though two-way symmetrical communication is regarded as a normative approach in public relations and relational public diplomacy, this research

does not judge whether these NGOs' asymmetric communication with stakeholders is right or wrong for their own organizational objectives. Indeed, such an approach can even be more effective and successful for different reasons. However, their communication with local stakeholders are analyzed from a relational public diplomacy approach in order to find out the potential they offer for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives.

Continuing the discussion on VANK, its second communication approach is on an individual basis as it relies on relationship-building and management which is done by individual volunteers who are supported by VANK's information resources, skills and experiences through trainings and/or online and offline materials. These volunteers also build interest in their penpal friends' culture in a two-way symmetric approach fostering dialogue and mutual understanding. Grounded in friendship, this type of approach is also behavioral rather than symbolic (Grunig, 1993a: 136). One of the research participants from VANK is a Researcher, who is now a full-time staff at VANK, but she began as a voluntary member when she was a high school student. She explains how she found VANK which may hold true for many other –but not all- members:

I wanted to have foreign friends and I was very much interested in the world. If I make friends with foreigners through penpal sites, I first tell her/him my name, but also as early as that what I told her/him was Korea and it was impossible not to introduce her/him what kind of country Korea is. At the same time, if that friend is from Thailand, I was also curious about what kind of country Thailand is. So, I think I found VANK very naturally. I wanted to learn how to promote Korea; to be able to promote Korea more effectively; and to get related materials and found them in VANK.

VANK's dream is making every Korean citizen a public diplomat (VANK, 2015c). Its idea of using Korean citizens as public diplomats is similar to Israel's "peer-to-peer diplomacy" (Attias, 2012) programs which are discussed above. The main difference is that VANK's projects are entirely non-state-initiated. VANK lists the responsibilities of potential citizen public diplomats on its site. These responsibilities begin with listening to foreign friend's country's "sufferings" and understanding that country's culture and traditions (VANK, 2015c). Second responsibility is making them feel home when hosting them in Korea, but this too starts with "show[ing] a sincere interest in their country" (VANK, 2015c). Third responsibility is concerned with overcoming prejudices through mutual cultural exchanges with those friends (VANK, 2015c). Third responsibility also reminds Korean citizen public diplomats that in order to be a responsible "global citizen" and "to tackle global issues," one needs "to cooperate with the people of the world" (VANK, 2015c). It is only the fourth responsibility that citizen public diplomats are asked to correct historical distortions about Korea and promote the history and culture of the country to the friends (VANK, 2015c). The first three responsibilities are in line with relational public diplomacy as the approach is two-way symmetrical taking into account the interests of foreign friends; these responsibilities involve necessary dialogic properties such as empathy and mutuality; are behavioral – making real friends- rather than merely symbolic; and lead to effective contact on an equal footing.

Furthermore, in order to rectify the asymmetric approach of organization's communication, VANK recently began two new programs. These new programs, which emphasize more universal values, diversified VANK's activities and moved its communication framework towards more symmetrical side. One of these programs is

introducing foreign cultures to Koreans, another is 'World Changer' which deals with universal issues such as poverty, war and climate change (VANK, 2014). The former aims to familiarize Koreans with other cultures while the latter aims to create awareness about global problems among Korean youth. VANK members who are eager to promote Korea to their foreign friends grow interest in global issues through this education program. VANK Researcher explains the program:

People think VANK only promotes Korea, but it is an organization that aims to have exchanges with the world in addition to promoting Korea. It is also necessary to learn about the world in addition to let people know about Korea... The focal point of this program is learning about our friends' countries' cultural heritage, their heroes and their food while promoting our countries' cultural heritage to them... The program in which we study other countries and their cultures is not as much active as promoting Korea. We have done it once or twice... If you say Africa, the impressions in Korea are 'blacks,' 'dark skinned people,' 'there are always clashes,' and 'poverty;' this is the image I think. It has such an image, but we think that this image is not all about that place. 54 countries of Africa have their own history, their heroes, their treasures and their heritage. Therefore, we recruited VANK members and divided them into 54 teams and assigned each team an African country to research that country's most famous and respected hero... and promote that person. Furthermore, Korea has painful history such as Dokdo, comfort women or the history of exploitation of imperialism. Similarly, Africa is one of the places which most suffered from the history of exploitation of imperialism. Great Western powers such as United Kingdom colonized most African countries. Therefore, we did activities that

connect our country's painful colonial experiences with theirs who had similar painful experiences and concluded with the message that we should overcome these experiences and progress towards peace. And students researched about the countries that they were assigned and posted their research contents on their personal blogs and sent these postings to five people around them.

Through this education program and World Changer program VANK, at the organizational level, will no longer be seen as only promoting Korea to foreigners but also symmetrically growing interest in other countries and global issues. Indeed, even the graphical design of the main page of VANK's website shows "Cyber Diplomat" program –promoting Korea- as one branch of the tree and "World Changer" program –promoting global issues- as the second branch of the same tree that grows from the same seed (VANK, 2015d). This seed can be interpreted as a metaphor of two-way symmetrical public diplomacy. World Changer program is elaborated more in the next section.

In the case of Nittokai, there has been Turkish Cultural Center, which is Nittokai's sister organization, in Tokyo before the establishment of Nittokai. Even though Turkish Cultural Center has also emphasized relationship-building with Japanese people, it has mainly involved one-way introduction of Turkish culture and language to Japanese people. I have observed one of their dinner events in which Japanese guests attended and ate Turkish food and chat with their Turkish friends whom they have known for some time. The event aimed to strengthen ties between Japanese who are interested in Turkey and Turkish who reside in Japan. Even though the event involved elements of mutuality satisfying both Turkish and Japanese interests, it was asymmetrical in the way that it mainly involved introduction of Turkish culture to Japanese people.

Seeing the need for two-way symmetrical communication through new programs beyond introducing Turkey in Japan, Nittokai was founded. On why they felt a need to establish Nittokai, the Executive Director says:

The Turkish Cultural Center mainly focuses on introducing Turkish culture, so we can say it is rather one-way. Its main activities include Turkish classes, handicraft courses, saz (Turkish instrument) courses, Turkish cuisine classes. So, it was founded to introduce Turkish culture to Japanese people. You cannot do different activities there... So we have founded this NPO (Nittokai). We can do more mutual exchanges with the Japanese and learn more about Japanese culture. This new organization matches more with our mission, which is two-way dialogue. So, we are concerned not only with introducing Turkey to Japanese, but also to understand Japan and introduce it to Turkish people. Furthermore, not only these two countries, but we can also do programs about other issues. For example, we can do seminars about the Middle East, Greece or other global issues. So we have a broader perspective now.

AAR is an organization that mainly engages in emergency relief and humanitarian assistance activities overseas. Compared to other development NGOs studied in this research, AAR and DF put more emphasis on their relations with local stakeholders. As in the case of other development NGOs, both AAR and DF do not have much contact and symmetrical relations with benefactors of their aid activities, but these two organizations have dialogue with their local counterparts. Program Manager of AAR explains:

Establishing good relations with local society including governmental agencies, NGOs, elders and others is quintessential for a successful implementation of a

project. We hold regular contacts with relevant authorities to have them understand and support AAR's endeavors. At the field level, we usually liaise with key local NGOs who are more capable of maneuvering without cultural frictions.

Similarly, DF also emphasizes its partnerships with local stakeholders to serve the shared interests of humanitarian relief and development aid. DF's PR Coordinator says that:

We always cooperate with trustworthy and capable NGOs in the countries we operate. Oftentimes we get proposals for projects in their countries from these local organizations. We find and provide the funding. The local NGO coordinates the project. We follow the process by their reports or by doing site inspections. If the local NGO is an organization that does education activities, we leave the administration of the school that we build to that NGO.

Both KOVA and KCOC are contractors of KOICA, the former responsible for training of volunteer corps (sent by KOICA) before they leave Korea, while the latter partially manages the World Friends Korea NGO volunteers recruiting hundreds of volunteers every year.<sup>30</sup> As mentioned above, Korean volunteer corps build relationships while volunteering for two years in developing countries although it is difficult to maintain these relationships after their return to Korea. They get to meet and collaborate local stakeholders in those regions as they are in the field while doing their activities. Both KCOC and KOVA take advantages of these volunteer corps on the ground building relations with locals. For example, KOVA has a scholarship program for students from these developing regions. Scholarship recipients are

---

<sup>30</sup> In, 2014 projection of World Friends Korea program, 340 volunteers were selected and managed by KCOC (interview, KCOC General Secretary).

chosen among those who Korean volunteer corps have built relations with while working together on projects. KOVA prefers those who have already established ties with Korean volunteer corps and who has potential to be influential in his/her home country:

It would be suitable giving scholarships to those people who can be influential in their own countries, right? ... Especially from a relational view, this is helping children of local colleagues that worked together with volunteer corps and colleagues themselves whom we have very deep relationship with. We do not search for people with need here and there; rather look for those who are in need around the institutions volunteer corps do activities at. In the end, those who receive benefits through such scholarship program would have a better image of KOICA and Korea.

MOFAS -a network of spouses of Korean diplomats- is an NGO that has dual purposes. Firstly, MOFAS aims at increasing ties among diplomat spouses and meeting their needs such as education, cultural activities and charity. Secondly, it tries to promote Korea among foreign envoys in Korea and also overseas. Their activities are substantially based on relationship building with local and foreign (diplomatic envoys) stakeholders, who are in many cases influential elites. There are similar organizations in many countries that MOFAS collaborate with sometimes for MOFAS' activities and sometimes for theirs. Taking part in charity bazaar in a foreign country and donating the revenues to the local organizer's charity showcases MOFAS' two-way symmetrical approach. Another particular example is MOFAS' relations with Seoul Washington Women's Association (founded in 1965) which is created and joined by spouses of American diplomats that had worked in Seoul in the past. MOFAS members who are based in Washington at the time join their events which all take place at



nongovernmental and nonprofit capacity. General Affairs Manager of MOFAS explains:

In the case of Seoul Washington Women's Association, there are two gatherings a year. We host one of these gatherings. We host them at the embassy and show them traditional dance or music performances so that they can have a nostalgia of their times in Korea while also seeing how much Korea has grown since then. And for the other gathering, American diplomat spouses invite us and show us around Washington.

Both at individual and organizational capacity, MOFAS members emphasize mutuality, understanding of others and sincere dialogue. Participants from MOFAS pointed out the importance of mutuality of exchanges for sincerer relationships. One of the Assistant Managers of MOFAS says that if they adapt to and love the country that they live in and learn about it, including its culture, language and food, people will get more interested in them and Korea so that they can get more chances to introduce about Korea's various attractions. Some artist diplomat spouses draw pictures of the country they live in and make exhibitions in Korea following their return and contribute to promotion of the image of that host country in Korea. For her, this is an important beginning for more exchanges: "is not this where public diplomacy starts?" She emphasizes that "informing others about our country is important, but I believe that learning about and loving the country we live in is also a very significant aspect of public diplomacy." She elaborates more:

When sent to overseas missions, Korean diplomat spouses are very active and hardworking in learning the local language. When one goes there at first, –and I was like that too- she feels like 'I have to learn about that country and love it very quickly so that I will be able to introduce my country's various things to them.'

From that perspective, I think Korean diplomat spouses are very much active. They begin with learning the language and adapt quickly in order to have dialogue and exchanges with the locals. It is not something that can be done based on a command, but they do it voluntarily and very actively... We should be able to bring with us the good image of the country we lived in and explain about that country to Koreans. When we are abroad we are Korean diplomats' spouses, but when we are back in Korea we act as if we are diplomat spouses of the countries we lived in... So it is mutual.

MOFAS' magazine named Diplomatic Light (외교등) covers stories from various countries in each issue promoting certain cultures or places of those countries to its readers who are mainly Korean diplomat spouses. For example, in the 19<sup>th</sup> issue in 2008, Korean diplomat spouses introduce tea or coffee cultures of various countries including China, Japan, United Kingdom, Turkey, Ethiopia and Russia as well as Korea (MOFATS, 2008). Similarly, 20<sup>th</sup> issue in 2009 introduces foods in the Seoul embassies of various countries including Argentina, Indonesia, Australia, Tunisia, Spain and Malaysia as well as Korea (MOFATS, 2009). Lastly, the 22<sup>nd</sup> issue in 2011 introduces comfort stories of various countries including Azerbaijan, Guatemala, Laos, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Papua New Guinea, Myanmar, New Zealand, Poland and Taiwan (MOFATS, 2011). These examples and many others found in their brochures, magazines and website confirm their statements about them having genuine dialogue with their foreign stakeholders.

FEC's guiding principles are in line with the relational approach to public diplomacy. When asked about their purpose, Director of FEC emphasizes promotion of mutual understanding: "this organization desires purely promoting international friendship, mutual

understanding, mutual happiness, mutual development of economy and culture, development of both countries.” Its engagement with foreigners take place at different avenues. Firstly, FEC sends envoys to different countries looking for opportunities to create networks and increase mutual understanding with foreign political and business elites. Secondly, it engages foreign diplomats in Tokyo very actively. 104 to 105 ambassadors out of about 150 present in Tokyo are in the advisory board of FEC. FEC executives and members build relationships with these foreign envoys and work in close cooperation with them based on mutual interests. FEC collaborates with embassies when they organize activities or send envoys overseas as they already have established relationships with these embassies. FEC’s emphasis on mutual interests and its relationship management with foreigners suggest that their way of business is two-way symmetrical and guided by dialogic approach.

SGI’s identity is more Buddhist than Japanese even though its leadership, headquarters and main activities are in Japan. There are 94 registered sister organizations of SGI while they have members in 192 countries and territories (SGI, 2015c). They have close relations with the people of these countries. Soka Gakkai’s propagation of religion cannot be regarded as a two-way symmetrical approach as discussed before. Nevertheless, SGI and its affiliated organizations’ activities’ main themes are global issues (peace, poverty, disaster, sustainable development etc.), intercultural and interfaith dialogue, cultural exchanges and education (SGI, 2015b). All of these themes require SGI and its affiliates to follow two-way symmetrical approach for more effective contact with the people it is in touch with. Interfaith dialogue activities of SGI has revolved around Parliament of the World's Religions and the Committee of Religious NGOs at the UN (SGI, 2015d). SGI's representative to the UN in

New York Hiro Sakurai, who also served as president of the Committee of Religious NGOs at the UN, explains how this experience expanded his vision: “the experience of working together with close colleagues of various faith traditions has been a joy as well as constant inspiration--an inspiration to develop my capacity and behavior as a human being. It helps me to open my perspectives, my friendship and my life” (Sakurai, 2008). Indeed, empathy and expansion of vision (Gangadean and Swidler, 2000) can be achieved through dialogue as discussed in the analytical framework. These activities’ core element is always relationship building and relationship management with people of different backgrounds. SGI’s interfaith dialogue activities are explained by SGI Director:

Together with the growth in membership in associate organizations in various countries, opportunities for interfaith dialogue have also increased. While we will continue to make efforts to promulgate Nichiren Buddhism and its philosophy grounded in respect for the dignity of life through one-to-one dialogue, we also believe it is important to continue to engage in interfaith dialogue for exploring ways in which religious organizations, which exist as part of society, can positively contribute to our respective local communities and global society as a whole. In this way, we will continue to participate in interfaith dialogue in good faith.

Propagating, or “promulgating” in the Director’s words, religion is in direct contrast with the spirit of interfaith dialogue and relational public diplomacy as mentioned couple of times throughout this dissertation. However, SGI Director’s comments suggest that they have found an organizational balance between “promulgating” Buddhism through other channels of Soka Gakkai while engaging in interfaith dialogue with other faith-based organizations

“in good faith” through Soka Gakkai’s international body SGI. It is difficult to draw conclusions on this topic in this research project; but more research on faith-based organizations’ simultaneous activities of propagation of religion (asymmetrical one-way) and interfaith dialogue (symmetrical two-way) from a relational public diplomacy –or public relations- approach is needed to understand better whether there could really be such balance or whether asymmetrical propagation of religion obstructs two-way symmetrical interfaith dialogue.

Furthermore, SGI’s cultural exchange affiliate Min-On has brought famous foreign artists from all over the world and introduced their performances to millions of Japanese audiences since 1965. By arranging Japanese cultural performances overseas, it also introduced Japanese culture to foreigners. Since its early stages, Min-On always followed a two-way approach. Indeed, in 1990s one of the rare images of Japan in Turkey, including myself as a primary school student, was famous Turkish singer Baris Manco’s couple of concerts and close ties with Japan, apparently Soka Gakkai. Turkish people remember touching memories of thousands of Japanese audiences, including SGI and Soka Gakkai’s leader Ikeda, waving Turkish flags during one of Baris Manco’s concerts in Tokyo (see visual at Satilmis, 1991). Even though some (see e.g. Fisher, 2009: 253) consider cultural diplomacy as a one-way asymmetrical approach, Min-On’s approach to cultural diplomacy is rather two-way symmetrical emphasizing mutual exchanges. SGI Director talks about feedbacks of audiences who watched these concerts that introduce different cultures to Japanese people:

After attending a Min-On show representing a particular culture or region, many among the audience find that their views and opinions about the performers’ country of origin undergo a dramatic transformation, as indicated by the

following representative quote: 'I might barely know anything about a country, but after watching a Min-On performance, whenever I happen to come across news about some tragedy that has struck the country, I feel empathy for the people and find myself praying for their happiness and prosperity.' In this sense, Min-On sponsored concert tours can be said to contribute to world peace.

NPO1, a large Japanese advocacy NGO, mainly does activities to change public opinion and contribute to mutual understanding and peace in Northeast Asia. The NPO1 President believes that this is possible only through genuine dialogue among opinion leaders in different countries. He argues that rather than the states and politicians, it is the people who can overcome the problems of the region. NPO1's guiding principles and objectives require it to follow symmetrical communication by emphasizing mutual interests and relationship building among intellectuals of China, Japan and Korea. Governments have their self-interests which lead them to competition rather than looking for mutual interests; while intellectuals in these countries have "equal status" (Allport quoted in Cowan and Arsenault, 2008: 20) for effective contact and that status is strengthened with relationship management based on mutuality. When listening to his comments during the interview, it felt as if I was reading Manuel Castells' "The New Public Sphere" article (2008) in which he argues that global civil society express itself by "the movement of public opinion" through "horizontal, autonomous networks of communication" (Castells, 2008: 86) and "in the hope of sharing meaning and understanding" (Castells, 2008: 91). In that article, Castells (2008: 91) also strongly advocates that "public diplomacy is the diplomacy of the public" which is exactly echoed by the President. NPO1 President explains their activities emphasizing mutual understanding:

Our focus is solving the issues and finding out if there is any basis for mutual understanding we can build upon. We carry out our dialogue based on the opinion polls. The reason why we have been doing this dialogue with Chinese for ten years and with Koreans for two three years is because we are very much concerned with the situation of antagonism and conflict in neighboring countries. We would like to solve this situation by moving public opinion in those countries. This cannot be done by the government and their public officers... What we think about our friends in China and Korea is that we have a network to deal with the issues together after working together for ten years. ... Public connection could overcome that antagonism. That is what we are trying to do. There must be a role for people and public to connect horizontally, not vertically to overcome this situation. When the governmental diplomacy is not working, there must be alternative channels. And that must be the role of public.

Journalists and Writers Foundation (JWF) is founded by mainly journalists and writers as its name suggests in order to foster dialogue and mutual understanding both within Turkey and internationally between people of all walks of life including between Muslims and non-Muslims, leftist and rightist, ethnic Turks and non-Turks, Turkish and foreigners to name a few (for more, see GYV, 2015; JWF, 2015a). JWF's Vice President suggests Abant Platform's (which is one of the JWF platforms) Executive Board as an example of genuine dialogue in reality as it includes Turks, Kurds, Greeks, Muslims, Christians, atheists, Alevites, Sunnis, Islamists and secularists (for more, see Abant Platformu, 2015). JWF's inspirer and Honorary President is Fethullah Gülen whose ideas inspired Hizmet Movement to open dialogue and cultural centers in different parts of Turkey and all over the world, doing similar activities to that of JWF to fight prejudices and misunderstandings (see also Gül, 2013).

Gülen's main principles of dialogue are mentioned in the analytical framework. Gülen's approach to relationship management and dialogue are practiced by JWF, Nittokai and other like-minded dialogue and cultural centers in more than a hundred countries, making his ideas on dialogue one of the most widely practiced set of dialogue principles.<sup>31</sup>

Based on Gülen's dialogue principles, JWF's activities are two-way symmetrical as they take into account the interests of their dialogue partners including the minorities in Turkey and foreign stakeholders in more than a hundred countries. For years, JWF has voiced minorities' rights in Turkey including the opening of Halki Seminary which is very symbolic and strategically important for (Greek) Orthodox Christians –while being a politically sensitive issue- and allowing education in Kurdish language in Turkish schools (KADIP, 2011). Vice President of JWF thinks that this may sound just ordinary in liberal Western context, but in Turkey, JWF was the initiator of interfaith dialogue and advocating minorities' rights in Turkey at a large scale since those were very limited and unheard of until JWF was founded in 1994.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, JWF receives many delegations from all over the world. The delegations are consisted of mostly influential opinion leaders such as academicians, journalists, writers, politicians and religious figures and often come to JWF for roundtable discussions or other events which are co-organized by JWF and its sister organizations in over 100 countries.

---

<sup>31</sup> Since there is no membership mechanism or organic ties between the organizations, it is difficult to know the exact number of such dialogue centers. One estimate shows that as of 2012 there were more than fifty dialogue centers inspired by Hizmet Movement established only in the United States (Kayaoglu, 2012: 140).

<sup>32</sup> I heard from Chorepiscopus Yusuf Sağ (personal communication, 26 August 2013), Turkish Assyrian Catholic Deputy Patriarch, that religious minorities in Turkey used to meet occasionally, but it was Gülen who initiated true interfaith dialogue in Turkey together with particularly Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and himself (see also AA, 2013). He has written a book – entitled Fruits of Dialogue- on these interfaith initiatives (Sağ, 2014).



These sister organizations all over the world build and maintain long-term symmetrical two-way relationships with these delegations before and after the trips to Turkey –including visits to JWF-. In 2013 and 2014, 741 delegations consisted of 7854 people (mostly professors, journalists and politicians) from 96 different countries visited JWF’s main office in Istanbul (JWF, 2014, 2013). The numbers would be higher if people who visited JWF’s other offices or attended at JWF’s events are taken into account. Discussion on Nittokai’s activities in terms of relational public diplomacy gives an idea of how JWF’s sister organizations build and manage symmetrical relations with their foreign stakeholders.

JWF’s President is also a board member in International Festival of Language and Culture (IFLC) (IFLC is also a non-governmental nonprofit Hizmet Movement initiative) and JWF supports this festival which took place in twenty countries in 2015 hosting about 2000 students from 145 countries (IFLC, 2015b). IFLC is probably one of the largest programs that promote languages and cultures of countries all over the world (IFLC, 2015b). From a relational public diplomacy approach, two points need mentioning about this festival. Firstly, almost all students that participate at these events are students who study at Hizmet-inspired schools in their own countries. Symmetrical and behavioral relationships are built and maintained with the students, their parents, local and national authorities in those countries through these educational and cultural exchanges in the long-term. Secondly, what started as “Turkish Language Olympiads” in 2003 and had been hosted always in Turkey as a huge Turkish language contest until 2013, turned into a truly international and much more symmetrical festival. Prior to 2014, students promoted their countries in expo-style country promotion booths. The “culture festive,” where students from more than 140 countries promoted their own countries, was visited by about 3 million guests in 2013 (Cihan, 2013).

The closing ceremony in 2013 was broadcast live simultaneously by ten national channels (and many more local channels) and hosted 150 thousand viewers, including myself, inside Turkey's largest football stadium and more than 100 thousand outside (Bugün, 2013; for visual, see Türkçe Olimpiyatları, 2013; TRT, 2013). It would be unfair to call pre-2014 organizations asymmetrical since it involved educational and cultural exchanges and giving opportunities to students to promote their countries in Turkey for about a month with much coverage by the media. However, after 2014 the competition's name and main theme is no longer Turkish language and all students promote their countries' songs and culture to a wider and more international audience (for visuals, see IFLC, 2015a). The events became more universal and symmetrical and in turn, were welcomed in the countries where they were hosted in 2014 and 2015. For example, in June 2015 in Belgium, the event was broadcast live by Belgium's state channel RTBF and La Trois TV along with four other channels and during the event the Prime Minister of Belgium Charles Michel both said and tweeted that he is proud to be hosting the "colors of the world" emphasizing diversity, tolerance and dialogue (Michel, 2015; Cihan, 2015; Today's Zaman, 2015).

Similar to JWF, Nittokai's main aim is to foster dialogue and mutual understanding between the people of Japan and Turkey. Nittokai's activities are also inspired by Gülen's approach to dialogue, which is mentioned above. Nittokai aims to "promote cultural exchange and dialog to strengthen bridges between Turkish and Japanese societies," to "promote understanding and respect of both cultures through common and different values" and to "cultivate friendship through cooperation" (Nittokai, 2013a). Nittokai builds relations with Japanese intellectuals and publics. In order to take into account the interests of the Japanese society, Nittokai actively engages with Japanese intellectuals who serve in their

advisory boards. Furthermore, all of their Turkish staff and executives have been in Japan for long time and speak Japanese language fluently and understand Japanese culture to certain extent. I observed one of their meetings with one of their most active advisors who is a Japanese journalist. The meeting was conducted in Japanese as both Turkish and Japanese participants were fluent in the language. It was easy to understand that they have a well-established relationship with each other as they joke and laugh together. Due to language barrier, I could observe the meeting only through a translator, but the sincerity of the atmosphere and laughs did not require any translator. It seemed to me that the Japanese journalist had as much sense of ownership of Nittokai as the Turkish-Japanese people who founded it. Nittokai is based in Japan and its dialogue activities such as seminars, dinners, tours, friendship events are visible in the field (Nittokai, 2013b). Therefore, the relations it builds through its activities are more behavioral than being only symbolic (Grunig, 1993a). On the role of the Japanese advisors, the Executive Directors says:

Even though we have lived in this country for long and speak the language fluently, we were not born in this country and it may sometimes be difficult to adapt our programs to the Japanese context. Our Japanese advisors, who are opinion leaders such as professors and journalists, give us valuable advice to shape our programs to fit the Japanese context and the interests of the Japanese society. For example, it was our advisors who suggested the topic of ‘peace’ for our painting and essay competition, because it is an important issue in Japan in the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II. Furthermore, when we planned a rather more general award ceremony to give awards to people from different walks of life, our advisors suggested that our award ceremony should be narrowed down to a specific theme such as awarding the best NGO activities in the

earthquake region, because the award and award money would be more meaningful for them rather than for others. We followed their advice. Otherwise, we would have done a rather more general award event following the example of Niagara Foundation in Chicago which gives Peace and Dialogue awards in different fields.

ISR is founded and registered in Korea and managed by Koreans; however, its identity is not explicitly Korean. Based on the universal sports values and Olympic Movement's spirit, they aim to have a more neutral identity. Sports is "the least political activity" (thus least conspicuous one) says the Executive Director; therefore, paving the way for trustworthy relationship management. Apart from the humanitarian aid activities, ISR builds relations with foreigners, who are mostly sports elites in the world including but not limited to International Olympic Committee (IOC) members, professors and athletes. ISR executives and foreign sports elites have shared interests and mutual objectives around the ideals of Olympic Movement such as "assist[ing] national governmental bodies and sports organizations at all levels in their policy development and execution for sport diplomatic activities" (ISR, 2015d).

Turkayfe was created as a nation-branding project. In contrast with information framework which uses one-way asymmetrical approach such as advertising, Turkayfe Directors wanted to add more human element into the nation-branding formula. They argued that in Turkey, "nation branding tools used have been limited to attracting tourism and investors without taking into account that targeted messages on a human level are the aspects that make a long lasting impact" (Sevin and Salcıgil White, 2011: 86). The name of the organization reminds one of traditional Turkish coffee houses where people in the

neighborhood would get together and discuss social issues and maintain their friendship and close ties. The naming itself speaks for the purpose of the project. Co-founder of Turkeyfe elaborates their nation-branding idea during the interview: “people get together via Turkeyfe, discuss what Turkey is and the brand that comes out of discussion should be the Turkey brand... What is important is how people come to a conclusion through discussion.” Influenced by Habermas’ (1974; 1989) public sphere arguments, Turkeyfe began as an online platform that connects people who are interested in Turkey and share their experiences -or “Türksperience” (Sevin and Salcıgil White, 2011)- and later evolved into an offline project chatting with people over Turkish coffee. It was out of the necessity to be on the ground shifting more towards “behavioral relationships” (Grunig, 1993a). Co-founder explains this shift:

We saw coffee as a sphere that can bring Turkish and American people together. That is because coffee is very important in American culture. Coffee houses are also very important, but they don’t know it came through Turkey. We wanted to show them Turkey’s influence on spreading of coffee to Europe and America, but without doing extreme nationalism at all. We never said ‘our coffee,’ but we said ‘we had some role in the coffee you drink; we also drink coffee and we have something in common. So let’s get together and talk.’ So we used coffee to start dialogue ... What you do only online does not work. We all use internet and all, but people demand something tangible, so having this offline promotion was very good... Turkeyfe worked well where we (Directors and active members) have offline presence; so we focus more on America.

Turkeyfe’s shift from online platform to offline to have more behavioral relationships is also seen in the case of VANK. VANK also started as a penpal site online bringing together

foreigners who learn Korean and/or interested in Korea and Korean youth who are interested in making foreign friends. Director of VANK says that “everybody liked the idea, but it turned out the online members do not participate very often.” Many Korean teenagers joined the site, but there were not that many foreigners they could meet and make friends. Therefore, they were asked to join other international penpal sites to find friends, but keep connected to VANK which turned into a “cyber diplomat education program” strengthening the online platform with offline programs and activities both for Korean members and also increasingly for foreigners.

## **5.2. Networked Public Diplomacy and Selected NGOs**

I have discussed in the analytical framework that public diplomacy objectives can be achieved by non-state actors as well as by official public diplomats. States have no monopoly of the soft power resources of the country; non-state actors can utilize or create soft power resources that can contribute to public diplomacy objectives of the country. Government’s public diplomacy activities only introduce new ideas and images to the marketplace of ideas and images. NGOs that are analyzed in this study operate internationally in complex network environments together with states who are not necessarily the central organizations (Rowley, 1997: 892). These NGOs also introduce new ideas and images to the marketplace. Indeed, in some cases these NGOs enter some marketplaces that state agencies may have difficulty entering.

As outlined in the analytical framework, the NGOs’ potential for public diplomacy is

discussed based on two issues: credibility and reach. In addition to these two issues, NGOs' properties are discussed in relation with the limited resources of official public diplomacy channels in the later part of this section.

### **5.2.1. Credibility**

In the analyses of NGOs for this study, credibility appeared in three different ways. Firstly, intragroup credibility -or bonding social capital, is found to be high for some NGOs. This is important for public diplomacy outcomes as far as this credibility is utilized to make sure collaboration between state agencies and these NGOs facilitates easier diffusion of information, shared interests and norms and solves the collective action problem for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 395-6). Secondly, credibility of selected NGOs among foreign stakeholders is found to be related to their symmetrical communication with the stakeholders as discussed above and also related to their bridging social capital which is discussed in the next section. Thirdly, credibility due to activities beyond national interests are found and discussed in the later part of this section.

Some of the selected NGOs maintain their close ties within the network through bonding and team building strategies (Zaharna, 2013: 182-183). They use membership training, education, meetings and other ways to maintain "network membership and sustaining the vitality of the overall network" (Zaharna, 2013: 183). Members are bond together also based on the network narratives that Zaharna (2013: 186) puts forward: task-based narratives that partners focus on the shared objective; social-based narratives that highlights belonging in

the partnership and associating with the partners; and identity-based narratives that emphasizes “a sense of being (rather than belonging or doing).”

KCOC is an association of 122 Korean NGOs that work in the area of development cooperation. KCOC’s main purposes are to strengthen the capacity of its member NGOs through training, education and networking and to fight poverty and inequality together with like-minded NGOs (KCOC, 2014b). Therefore, its narrative is task-based as they try to achieve common goals; but at the same time social-based since KCOC’s activities strengthen the idea of belonging in the long-term. KCOC provides training for member organizations’ administrators, staff and activists on various subjects such as basics of international development cooperation (KCOC and KOICA, 2014) and disaster readiness (Cornerstone OnDemand Foundation, 2015). KCOC is also an avenue where activists and staff of its member NGOs can get together for various workshops and self-created study groups both to deepen their knowledge and understanding of international development cooperation and to facilitate information exchange among member NGOs (KCOC, 2014c). Secretary General says that KCOC organizes “various programs such as forums, workshops and membership training (MT)” for groups of activists from its member NGOs that include “CEOs, executive persons in charge, junior leaders and volunteers.” Furthermore, she says that “in order to improve job performances we organize seminars and other programs.” KCOC conducts bonding and team-building strategies in order to maintain social capital of the network (Zaharna, 2013: 182-183).

KOVA is another NGO which is mainly engaged in networking and education of members. KOVA members are those who volunteered overseas as part of KOICA volunteer corps (World Friends Korea) for two years. In this sense, it can be considered as an alumni



association of those who graduated volunteer corps program as mentioned before. KOVA's narrative is identity-based since the members share common experiences as fellow members of the volunteer corps. Their narrative is also social-based at the same time as they share volunteer norms and a sense of belonging. Main aim of this NGO is to keep ties among members strong which leads to a network with abundant bonding social capital. In turn, organization's social capital is mobilized for good; that is furthering voluntary activities after their return in Korea. In order to create shared values and norms among members, KOVA organizes regular lectures and other events regarding ODA and philanthropy. KOVA Secretary General believes that KOVA's narratives help members share what they learn with their other networks:

After volunteer corps come back to Korea, they assume the role of sharing their two years' of experience in the country while doing other social or economic activities... They can share their experiences with people around them with what they do not lose (i.e. their identity). We are engaged in communication sharing information with our members for the rights and interests of volunteer corps. We are creating solidarity among members so that volunteer corps can realize sharing their experiences based on their sense of identity.

Solidarity among KOVA members based on their 'sense of identity,' as the Secretary General puts it, leads to strengthening of social capital. This social capital is transformed into human capital and financial capital as KOVA uses this solidarity for volunteering and charity. Secretary General gives some examples of how: "our members continuously volunteer for and supports multicultural families, immigrant workers, immigrant workers' human rights in Korea, translation services and settlement help." Having been volunteer corps overseas for

two years, KOVA and its members seem to be more sensitive about issues regarding foreigners in their country, especially those who are in need. This is an example of how they use their social capital for good. Their sensitivities about issues regarding foreigners in Korea contribute to Korean public diplomacy by showing Korean's goodwill to foreign publics.

KOVA has signed MOU with various state agencies beginning with KOICA letting them access its infrastructure, especially its human resources, for example when organizing an emergency relief team or for translation pool. These institutions utilize KOVA's internal credibility to access and mobilize its members. In return, KOVA provides its members with employment-related information it gets from these institutions (interview, KOVA Secretary General).

It is easier for KOICA and other state agencies to work in collaboration with organizations with high bonding social capital such as KCOC or KOVA. Through these networks, state agencies can communicate and collaborate with many NGOs and enthusiastic human resources at rather lower costs, more rapidly and more efficiently.

MOFAS' narrative is both identity-based in the sense that all members are diplomat spouses and also task-based in the sense that they have "sense of duty" (interview, MOFAS General Affairs Manager) to represent and introduce Korea to foreigners. Social capital of the network is maintained through both offline meetings and also members-only online community where they keep in touch and stay updated on news, announcements, and ways to improve their programs. Assistant Manager explains their communication with each other in the MOFAS network:

Our members both in Korea and all over the world can share information or thoughts on MOFAS website. Furthermore, members in Korea attend our regular

general meetings two or three times a year. Through these meetings they can participate in general education classes or intellectual courses and also discuss issues related to MOFAS activities. Spouses that live overseas come to Korea every spring during the diplomats' general assembly and participate at the education program particularly for the spouses living overseas. During this period, the MOFAS members share beneficial information with each other and get closer and make deeper friendship with each other. Apart from these, there are many small and large size meetings. Members with similar hobbies or religion get together to, for example, set flowers, read Bible or play bridge. Members who were at the same place at the same time cherish their memories through meetings. We also meet with our seniors to get closer with them. Because diplomat spouses change places every two three years and get to live in the countries that they don't know about and have problems such as children's education, we have a lot of concerns and memories in common. So, our empathy for and friendship with each other is very high compare to any other meeting.

FEC is able to efficiently mobilize its members, who are respected Japanese businessmen and retired high level public officers, on occasions when necessary. This mobilization capacity is possible due to high intragroup credibility of FEC network. FEC's narrative is social-based as similar minded Japanese businessmen and retired officials are its members and participate in its activities. FEC Director says that "when foreign dignitaries visit Japan and want to meet with business people or Japanese public people ... we arrange their meetings in such forms as welcome luncheons." He gives a more specific example that is illustrative of their mobilization capacity that can be used for diplomatic ends:

Foreign Minister from a country visited Japan for the purpose of the Foreign

Ministries' bilateral conference, but that Foreign Minister was a former businessman and he very strongly wanted to have chance to exchange views with Japanese business people. But the timing was not too good as it was in June when many companies have stockholder meetings. So the Ambassador could not arrange the meeting for the Foreign Minister with business people. The Ambassador asked us to do something. Our members cover big companies who are at the same time leading members of KEIDANREN (Japan Business Federation). So we invited some of those members to attend at a welcoming luncheon for the Foreign Minister and have the opportunity to exchange views. The Foreign Minister and Ambassador were actually very happy.

#### **5.2.1.1. Public Diplomacy beyond National Interests**

In the analytical framework, it is argued that public diplomacy objectives that are beyond national interests can mitigate the suspicions of public diplomacy policies in general. This requires adherence to universal values and addressing global issues such as protecting environment and peacebuilding which can be regarded as global public goods. In the interviews, even though there was no related question, participants have talked about their NGOs' objectives and activities that are beyond national interests. By contributing to production of global public goods, these NGOs add more credibility and goodwill to public diplomacy initiatives and earn trust of others as discussed before.

NPO1's activities are revolved around public opinion and intellectual exchanges.

Therefore, credibility and showing adherence to universal values is critical for their activities and their identity. NPO1 has a social-based narrative as its local participants gather around shared norms and goals, but it also seeks external task-based coalitions with Chinese and Korean intellectuals and organizations that share similar interests. In the interview, NPO1 President's remarks suggest that his organization has the advantage of being a non-governmental organization since its interests are not seen as suspicious and self-interested compared to the case of governments which can be regarded manipulative. In other words, NPO1 enjoys credibility in the field which is difficult for the Japanese government, or other governments for that matter, to achieve. He believes that civilians can be more influential in changing the public opinion in Northeast Asia to alleviate antagonism present in the region:

Nationalistic antagonism in Northeast Asia has to be changed and that has to be the focal point in this region in terms of public diplomacy and people-to-people diplomacy. That is what we are doing from that sort of perspective. In order to realize more peaceful Northeast Asia, every country can get together and think together in order to find a solution to it. When the government is doing it, their concern is primarily their own self-interests. ... Public diplomacy based on government's interests cannot solve that. That is why people should change the public opinion and mobilize people to have a dialogue in order to find a solution. There is not much government can do to change public opinion of foreign publics. Changing public opinion in a more constructive way has to be the role of the public... In Northeast Asia, intergovernmental diplomacy is not working... If governmental diplomacy uses public diplomacy, that would stare up more conflict and antagonism... Intergovernmental diplomacy is more of like secrecy.

Then there is no way for public to know what actually happen within this secret negotiation between governments...There is a tendency for government to use nationalism for their own benefit which cause even more confusion and further antagonism.

During the interview with ISR's Executive Director, she emphasized ISR's international posture –as opposed to having an explicit Korean identity- and adherence to Olympic Movement's universal ideals –rather than protecting Korea's interests overseas- despite my persistent questions regarding ISR's contributions to Korea's public diplomacy. ISR's network narrative is task-based as it holds regular contacts with similar minded individuals and organizations to advocate Olympic Movement's ideals and help sports development in the world. Those ideals that ISR advocates are summarized in the very first fundamental principle in the Olympic Charter as follows: "Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles" (IOC, 2015: 13). ISR's activities are in line with these principles and therefore beyond national interests. I was invited as a guest lecturer for ISR's education program, which is organized based on these principles, for retired athletes on the topic of sports diplomacy. I observed that ISR has built close relations with these athletes and take their interests into account when designing its education programs. During my lecture, the former athletes were very active taking notes, asking questions and adding comments. They seemed to be contented to be in Korea and receiving education through ISR's program. The program involved education and empowerment of retired athletes from

eight –mainly developing- countries. The retired athletes had intensive courses that include English language course, team projects and special lectures about various aspects of sports (for more, see ISR, 2015a). While all of the topics and discussions are beyond Korea and rather in line with Olympic values, the students have spent four months in Korea with full scholarship and did cultural trips around Korea. In other words, the program served Korean national interests through building relationships with foreign athletes and letting them know about the culture, history and discourses of Korea. ISR and Korea also earned appreciation from National Olympic Committees which recommended these athletes to ISR. While serving more universal interests of Olympism, ISR also contributed to Korean public diplomacy indicating that serving interests beyond national interests are not exclusively beyond national interests.

The Executive Director of ISR believes that sports is the least suspicious activity, and therefore they do not want to attach political or national values to it. She talks about the purity of sports as a universal phenomenon and their activities to maintain it as such:

We do not really sell Taekwondo as a national brand, but we sell Taekwondo as an Olympic sport. And it is a good educational venue, because it teaches value to children. Along with the Taekwondo equipment and the program, we teach them Olympics' educational values. So we do Olympic value education program as well. Because our President is an IOC member, we want to help the IOC activities as well.

VANK started World Changer project which deals with universal issues such as poverty, war and climate change in order to create awareness about global problems (VANK, 2014). World Changer is a task-based narrative, the task being promotion of global issues in Korea

among the youth. This program is done in cooperation with KOICA. Before this program started, a similar education program titled “Global Village Citizen Education” was also done by KOICA and VANK (Lee, 2011; Park, 2011). VANK Researcher explains World Changer online and offline educational program and beyond:

There are problems that could not be solved up until now; for example, global issues such as poverty, environmental pollution, human rights problems or countries with wars still persist. World Changer is a program where Korean youth study about these issues and think about solutions to the problems together... It is an education program which makes one look beyond Korea to do activities to positively change the world together. VANK’s vision, I think, extends beyond promoting Korea as it attracts the attention of Korean youth to global problems – no more only Korea- and the ways to change these problems positively... In the case of online education, there are fourteen missions in a month. These fourteen missions’ aim is to make one realize that he/she is a citizen of the global village... KOICA and VANK cooperates to train the youth world changers through offline education... For the education program, students are assigned a topic such as water shortage, human rights, international disputes or global warming. On the day of offline education, students bring what they have researched and debate in groups. Based on the debate, group members develop a project to solve the problem, such as water shortage, and present how they will practice it. They are asked to practice their project as planned until the next meeting one month later. And it is not much meaningful if they do it alone, but if they can change people around them through their activities and get them participate in the project their activities can have more possibilities of more significant change. Therefore, they



are asked to do it together with five people around them, and not alone. And they present the results.

JWF has become an intellectual platform for dialogue and mutual understanding since its beginning. Its organizational character and its activities have been beyond the national interests of Turkey, though not exclusively beyond. More recently in 2012, JWF has gained General Consultative Status at The United Nations Economic and Social Council (UN ECOSOC) becoming the first and only Turkish NGO to gain this status (Ozden, 2012). Since then, it created JWF Global to speed up its international activities that deal with global issues such as women empowerment, peacebuilding, conflict resolution and promotion of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (JWF, 2015b). Particularly, JWF's offices in New York, Addis Ababa, Vienna and Geneva organized and participated at events in partnership with international organizations such as UN, UNESCO and African Union that deal with global issues (JWF, 2015b). I personally participated at and observed three of those events, a side event during Commission on the Status of Women (CSW 58) related to girls' education and women empowerment in March 2014, Istanbul Summit in May 2014 which hosted women leaders from 45 countries to discuss post-MDGs from women's perspective and a conference related to the SDGs at the sidelines of UN General Assembly in September 2015 which brought together about 400 participants from more than 50 countries and from various walks of life. All of these events that I have observed were concerned with global issues which are beyond any single country, including Turkey. The other participants I met in the conferences participated in these events because the issues dealt with in these conferences were mutual concerns to them, regardless of their nationality and background. Following all of the three events, I participated at meetings of JWF as a participant and an observer. In

those meetings, the two main questions that they try to answer were (1) how to create awareness about these global issues at the grassroots level and (2) how to foster international public-private-people partnerships at JWF's capacity as a responsible UN ECOSOC General Consultative Status holder. The first question stems from JWF's responsibility to create awareness about these global issues at the grassroots Hizmet Movement where they enjoy much credibility. The second question stems from utilizing their brokerage role for the common good and it is elaborated more in the next section. JWF's Vice President touches upon their activities related to global issues:

Journalist and Writers' Foundation's slogan is 'toward universal peace.' While aiming to go 'towards universal peace,' our foundation, including all platforms under its roof, creates intellectual capital, or help creation of intellectual capital, for social peace in the long-run... For example, we hosted more than forty ambassadors at our New York branch for Ambassador Series and they contributed to the intellectual capital I mentioned. As part of these series, we hosted many African Ambassadors for 'African Solutions to African Problems' panels. In Vienna, commemorating the 100<sup>th</sup> year of the First World War, we did series on the achievements and failures for peacebuilding... We also have a 'Peace Projects Grant Program.' Even though it was the first year of this program, 1179 projects applied from 107 countries. The selection process was very transparent as we had more than 300 juries, only seven or eight of them were from Turkey... Ten projects received implementation grant (\$50,000 each) through a transparent process. Some UN representatives told us that there is no second organization that does a similar program at this scale... I believe that in its tenth or twentieth year, this program will come to a very significant point. Furthermore, there is also

Istanbul Summit in which women leaders from all over the world get together to find solutions on issues UN gives importance to... We concluded an M.O.U with African Union this year. African Union has a '2063 Agenda' and they have development milestones for two years, five years and ten years. We integrate our programs to these milestones. Not only in Addis Ababa; for example, there was a 'Culture of Peace' Conference organized by Benin Education Ministry, Africa Union and UN in Benin. Interfaith dialogue was also one of the topics in the conference. We were invited there because they wanted us to share our Honorary President's vision and its reflection in Africa; in other words, asking us to share our 'best practices' with them.

Nittokai, which is Turkey Japan Cultural Dialog Society in English, is founded as an NPO in Japan to deal with issues that interest both Japanese and Turkish mutually. Its mission statement includes the following goals: "[to] identify and propose solutions to common social problems; organize activities in cases of disaster and crisis in both countries" (Nittokai, 2013a). Their activities include social responsibility programs beyond national interests and beyond symmetrical two-way exchanges. One of Nittokai's activities is Award Ceremony in which a jury of influential Japanese opinion leaders and Nittokai's Executive Director select the best NGOs that contributed to the people of Sendai which was hit with an earthquake and tsunami in 2011. Executive Director of Nittokai believes that this Award Ceremony is their most significant program:

Following the March 11 earthquake, we began a project to give awards to the best performing NGOs in the earthquake area. I believe this is our most important program. We had the first Award Ceremony last year, and we are going to have the second one this year. We interview small and medium sized NGOs active in

the three prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi and Iwate. We have a jury of seven people including Japanese professors, researchers and an NGO leader and a journalist. We give awards to the best NGOs and we have received very positive feedback about this program... We established this organization to improve relations and exchanges between Japanese and Turkish societies so that Turkey is known better in Japan and Japan is known better in Turkey. However, we are now beyond that doing social responsibility programs. We are really interested in these social responsibility programs, which are in line with our understanding of dialogue.

Another social responsibility program Nittokai is engaged with is its arts contest for middle school and high school students which it does in collaboration with Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japanese Ministry of Education and other Japanese NGOs. Executive Director says that they have chosen the topic “peace” for this year’s painting and essay contest, because this year is “the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II.”

SGI as a faith-inspired organization with membership in 192 countries cannot stay in the boundaries of the interests of one country. Similar to ISR, SGI also has “international” in its name and acts internationally. On their international identity, Director of SGI says:

Soka Gakkai has been working in collaboration with the United Nations (UN), acknowledging its place as a universal forum for international dialogue, and proactively engaging in activities as a member of civil society in areas such as peace and disarmament, human rights education and sustainable development. Soka Gakkai has partnered with other NGOs, community organizations and governments as well as academic institutions... Sometimes UN agencies recognize us as a Japanese NGO, and sometimes as an international NGO

depending on the context.

The Director elaborates on the importance of universal values such as dignity and peace in their work:

Nichiren was a thirteenth-century monk who dedicated himself to reforming Buddhism as well as Japanese society of his times. His teachings, grounded in the Lotus Sutra—a core philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism—reflected his deep desire for the happiness and flourishing of not only of the Japanese people but of people throughout the world and elucidated respect for the dignity of all life. To wit, his was a foundational teaching that proclaimed the dignity of all people, transcending gender, social background or culture ... And when you look at the history of Japan, there is very tragic and sad history of wars. Especially Japan invaded Korea and China and Asian countries and we believe that is because of the very narrow-minded or close mindedness of Japanese militarism. Based on the deep and serious reflection from this sad history, our organization's Directors' aim has been the world peace and promotion of understanding between different countries. So, that was really a self-motivated direction as opposite to direction given from the state.

HFA is a new and small Korean NGO. However, they have a relatively significant network that they use for their activities (Hope to the Future Association, 2014a). They have close relations with World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) and have its Vice President in their advisory board. HFA also works very closely with many high schools in Korea, having their principals in its executive board and students as honorary ambassadors. They use these connections to create awareness about global issues among Korean youth. HFA is also open to collaborative projects when the initiatives are in line with their area of

interest such as global issues. HFA was co-partners in a high school essay competition which aimed to raise awareness about SDGs among Korean high school students. I was also part of that competition and had a chance to observe HFA's collaborative attitude in that project. HFA's president was one of the most active advisors of the project in an attempt to foster the Korean high school students' understanding of global issues. Their programs include "Training at the UN" and "Youth Camp" which aim to advance understanding of UN and UN system; to promote leadership; to advance discussion, speech and presentation skills; to build various perspectives about global issues and critical thought ability; and to maximize effectiveness of education (Hope to the Future Association, 2014b). Team Manager of HFA explains:

We have signed an MOU with WFUNA, where Ambassador Cho (HFA's advisor) works as the Vice President. They design the whole program and high school students learn about UN system, global governance, world peace and security, human rights, Millennium Development Goals, Sustainable Development Goals and other UN related issues during the course of an education program for a week. And because other international institutions are also gathered there, representatives from international institutions such as UNICEF, UNDP and UNEP come and give lectures... We have a youth camp that is organized in cooperation with WFUNA. We do it during the holidays for students beginning from primary school Grade 5 to High School Grade 3. They receive education about similar topics, but the design is a little bit different. Summer Camp has debate format while Winter Camp has Model UN format. However, all the issues are related to UN. We humbly try to give students opportunities so that students

are aware about these issues, think about them and broaden their horizon since their young ages.

Lastly, all development NGOs' humanitarian and development activities can be regarded beyond national interests when there is nothing in return attached to the aid. Their humanitarian objectives and philanthropic activities are appreciated both by the recipients and the world. Philanthropy and altruism are universal values that lead to production of global public goods as evidenced by the activities of development NGOs selected for this study, but also other NGOs. These NGOs' activities on the field with their credibility that comes from their experience and perceived neutrality give them an advantage which governments comparatively lack (Simmons, 1998: 87).

### **5.2.2. Reach**

Second feature of networks that is taken into account in this research project is the reach of NGOs in their networks. Some NGOs studied for this project have great reach capacity as they enjoy bridging social capital in their networks showing potential for public diplomacy initiatives that require better access to (more) networks. These centrally situated NGOs often undertake the role of a "network bridge" (Zaharna, 2013: 183-184) spanning "structural holes" (Burt, 2000) using their ties in different parts of a network (or different networks).

VANK has a huge membership pool. Some members of this network are active members who attend training sessions and offline events and create strong bonds with other members and VANK staff while most others are rather weakly tied to VANK with a task-based

narrative, task in hand being the promotion of Korea to foreigners. VANK as the focal organization acts as the gatekeeper giving information, training and tactics to its members and receiving feedbacks and other information from them. Each member has access to certain networks of foreign friends and promotes Korea in those networks. VANK staff alone cannot reach or maintain all of these networks itself. VANK's advantages are its huge membership pool of 130,000 which is joined by 500 to 1000 members every month (interview, VANK Director) and its members' access to other networks. VANK is the hub of this network.

JWF is a focal organization especially in the network of dialogue centers that are inspired by Hizmet Movement even though there is no hierarchical relationship between them. These various organizations in more than a hundred countries are organizationally independent from each other (Ebaugh, 2009: 57). However, almost all of them have weak or strong ties with JWF on a project-basis making JWF the focal organization in the network. JWF is therefore a natural hub, but as Krebs and Holley (2002) suggest, it acts as a "network weaver" creating ties among other nodes (i.e. other dialogue and cultural centers) through its seminars and other programs. Vice President of JWF elaborates on their role as a hub:

We have some sort of connection with organizations in about 101 countries; and also people in about 170 countries even though there is no formal organization. When we do an activity and need to contact the intellectuals of those countries, we can do it very easily through our networks... We are planning to conclude MOUs with all sister organizations to strengthen our ties with them. It is in progress right now... We try to bring together sister organizations once a year to share best practices and experiences with each other. Recently, we started online



meetings twice a month to share information with each other. Our foundation coordinates these meetings as the hub... We also try to help integration of various Hizmet-inspired organizations to the world. For example, we have a meeting tomorrow with various women organizations from all over the world. We try to integrate them to the UN's CSW (Commission on Status of Women) in New York. This year, we helped representatives of organizations from Nigeria and Japan to participate in CSW; next year we plan to incorporate women organization from fifteen to twenty countries to our CSW program and organize about fifteen to twenty side events in collaboration with them.

JWF itself has offices and most activities in Istanbul, Ankara, New York, Vienna, Geneva and Addis Ababa (JWF, 2015b). However, JWF's Vice President believes that JWF's activities are supplemented by its sister organizations worldwide and JWF's activities cannot be understood without taking into account the activities of its sister organizations:

The Foundation has offices in five countries and about sixty staff. ECOSOC General Consultative Status is not given to such organizations. There are only 147 organizations in the world with General Consultative Status and almost all of them are very active in more than a hundred countries working with huge budgets and doing very important activities. I think giving this status to our foundation is not appreciation of our foundation's activities alone, but rather appreciation of good works of Hizmet-inspired organizations (sister organizations) all over the world inspired by our Honorary President who uses our foundation's letterheads when writing letters.

JWF is an intellectual platform for dialogue and it has also weak ties with various international organizations, individuals, interest groups, NGOs, media organizations,

politicians, religious groups and others both within Turkey and abroad. JWF provides information, ideas and networking for the organizations it has ties with. Its main purpose of bringing together and bridging people of different perspectives (leftist, rightist and others), people of different faiths (Muslims –Sunni and Alevite-, Christians, Jewish and others), people of different countries and others positioned JWF as a gatekeeper and focal organization in various networks it is a part of. The main factor that makes it a hub and focal organization is that most other organizations do not have direct ties with each other while all have some kinds of ties with JWF including project-based partnerships. JWF organizes conferences and events that are attended by people from all over the world giving the participants from different backgrounds a networking venue. For example, JWF's Istanbul Summit in May 2014, which I also had a chance to participate together with some Korean professors and activists, hosted more than 300 intellectuals including politicians, academicians, journalists and activists from 45 countries to discuss "Women's Perspectives on UN Post-2015 Development Agenda" (Topal, 2015: 8). JWF's other events that I had a chance to observe include side event during CSW58 in March 2014 within the UN Headquarters and a conference during UNGA in September 2015 in New York. One panelist from India at JWF's UNGA-related conference noted during his speech that JWF's events give the participants from all over the world a networking opportunity to meet each other and benefit from these meetings and he concluded an MOU right on the stage between his organization and a business organization who also attended the conference.

Acting as a hub and bridge between various organizations and individuals has become part of JWF's identity and added-value. They create new ideas and projects to maintain their added-value (Burt, 2004). On creation of new ideas, JWF's Vice President says: "recently, a

new think-tank was founded within the foundation called Istanbul Institute. It will grow larger, but even today it has about fifteen full-time staff with Ph.D. degrees... The Institute publishes reports and produces ideas continuously.”

MOFAS enjoys a very special position in its network. As the spouses of Korean diplomats, they are almost inseparably close to the official diplomacy circles while operating a non-governmental organization. They have ties with a variety of people and organizations ranging from families of other countries’ diplomats to charity organizations, from artists to organizations that promote Korea overseas. Even though most of their external ties are rather weak, they are valuable ties for bringing in new information and for facilitating promotion of Korea to foreigners. More importantly, these relations (ties) are difficult to maintain and manage for the diplomats themselves as they have other official diplomatic duties. MOFAS members have access to these various ties and are intimately close to the diplomats. MOFAS “plays the role of a bridge,” in the words of General Affairs Manager, for the better of Korean public diplomacy. General Affairs Manager believes that with their bridging role they can add value to some promotional events overseas combining the power of embassy, their own experiences and capabilities of the third party organizations or individuals:

For example, when a taekwondo association go overseas, they might do their activities at a suburb in a very small scale. Combining our patriotism and our experiences in various countries with official perspectives, I think we can play the role of a bridge in the center very well. That is because we can notice things some other possibly may not. When that taekwondo association arrives overseas, based on our experiences we can use our connections, we can also use the embassy’s power, and make a more effective use of their visit for better

promotion of Korea.

As discussed in the previous section, KCOC is internally a network with high bonding social capital. Externally, on the other hand, it is a centrally positioned actor. KCOC has close relations with state agencies, particularly KOICA which is Korean state agency for ODA and Community Chest of Korea which is under Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It also has rather weaker ties with other international associations such as Asian Development Alliance (co-chaired by KCOC and Cambodia-based CCC), International Forum on National NGO Platforms (global, based in France), Beyond 2015 (global, based in Belgium) (KCOC, 2014c). KCOC is a broker and bridge between its member NGOs and its other external ties. I observed one of KCOC's meeting with a foreign development NGO in which KCOC's main office talked about potential collaboration opportunities between KCOC's member organizations and that foreign NGO in third countries. It was very apparent in that meeting that KCOC was regarded as a gatekeeper NGO which can act as a bridge between foreign NGOs, international organizations and its member NGOs. Secretary General says that: "KCOC plays the role of a bridge that collects opinions and problems of its member organizations and conveys them to the government; and conveys the opinions and news of international NGOs to its member organizations. The contents of this bridging role is different in each case, but the essence of bridging stands."

Similar to KCOC, FEC is also an organization both with high bonding social capital internally as discussed above and also with bridging social capital externally. The organization gets its power from bringing together influential business people, bureaucrats and diplomats acting as a "network weaver" (Krebs and Holley, 2002). FEC is the bridge that connects other ties in the network. In addition to representatives of large Japanese

companies, FEC has 104 or 105 ambassadors out of 150 available in Tokyo in its advisory board. Furthermore, retired diplomats and bureaucrats serve as advisors for various FEC committees. The ambassadors provide FEC with access to networks in their home countries including presidents in some cases, while retired Japanese diplomats and bureaucrats bring with them their know-how, experience and networks in official circles easing communication with diplomatic and bureaucratic channels when necessary.

Soka Gakkai is a faith-based organization and its bonds and shared norms are already established among its members. Therefore, it has an identity-based narrative. Soka Gakkai members “keep together in time” (McNeill, 1997) following their spiritual leader Daisaku Ikeda. However, it is not a closed organization exclusive to its members. Especially Soka Gakkai International (SGI) is the gate connecting Soka Gakkai with the outside world. SGI engages in forums, seminars, symposiums and lectures inviting foreign intellectuals to Japan while also sending delegations to overseas, mostly to China. At the public level, SGI and its sister organizations promote mutual understanding with other cultures. Furthermore Soka Gakkai has members, Japanese and non-Japanese, in 192 countries (SGI, 2015c). SGI is a centrally located actor within this network having access to Soka Gakkai members in these countries and in many cases approaches non-member foreigners also through its members in these countries. Although some regard Soka Gakkai’s activities controversial, SGI Director is confident of Soka Gakkai’s impact on people-to-people diplomacy. There seems to be three layers of SGI activities related to public diplomacy. At the first layer, it engages politicians trying to make a change from the top. At the second layer, it engages influential foreign elites fostering dialogue and mutual understanding at an elite level; and at the third layer, it engages the public both to propagate its mission and to foster understanding of other

cultures. The Director gives two high politics examples of the first layer activities, or in his words “people’s diplomacy”:

Mr. Ikeda is among those individuals who contributed to the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations... The Chinese government learned about the Soka Gakkai Leader Ikeda, who had issued a bold proposal for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations and friendship exchange between the two countries in front of 20,000 students in September 1968. Their interest piqued, Chinese officials sent an invitation to Mr. Ikeda to visit their country. Mr. Ikeda, with the view that diplomatic normalization should occur in the political realm, proposed that the Komeito ... send representatives in his stead. The Chinese government accepted this proposal, and the Komeito sent three delegations between 1971 and 1972 to exchange ideas and discuss various issues—both fundamental and specific—that stood in the way of normalization on the side of the Chinese government. Thus, the Komeito initiated the realization of discussions with Prime Minister Zhou Enlai and contributed greatly to laying the foundation for the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China.

SGI Director’s second example involves civilian mediation of relations between China and Russia during the Cold War period:

Sino-Russo relations had reached a critical stage in 1974. When Mr. Ikeda visited China for the first time in May of that year, he saw that the Chinese were building air raid shelters in urban areas in Beijing, in preparation for a possible nuclear attack by its neighbor, the Soviet Union. In September 1974, Mr. Ikeda visited the Soviet Union, convinced of the dire necessity of alleviating the tensions between China and Russia to ward off prospects of a Sino-Russo war. He met

with U.S.S.R. Premier Aleksey Kosygin with a desire to contribute to alleviating the friction between Russia and China in his capacity as a private citizen. He asked the Premier candidly, “China is anxious about the Soviet Union's intentions. Is the Soviet Union going to attack China?” to which the Premier assured, “The Soviet Union has no intention of either attacking or isolating China.” And when Mr. Ikeda asked, “May I convey that to the Chinese leaders?” the Premier replied, “please do.” Three months later in December 1974, Mr. Ikeda traveled to China for the second time and relayed the message from Premier Kosygin to Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping during their conference. Later the same day, he met with Premier Zhou Enlai. Considering the state of international affairs of that time, I firmly believe Mr. Ikeda, who was then Soka Gakkai president, played a major role in Sino-Russo diplomacy in his capacity as a private citizen, undeterred by the political upheaval surrounding him, concerned only with the welfare of the ordinary people of China and the Soviet Union. Had he been a representative of the government, Mr. Ikeda likely would not have been able to engage in such frank conversations with Premier Kosygin or Premier Zhou... So, I think this is [an example] of people’s diplomacy.

ISR is an international NGO founded in Korea. President of ISR is a member of IOC and has access to other IOC members all over the world. He is at the same time a Member of National Assembly in Korea and has access to Korean state agencies and politicians. The organizations’ events and networking have also focused on international sports VIPs. They build and maintain relations with influential sports figures and secure access to them for networking. ISR brings together international sports VIPs and Korean officials (mainly MOFA and Ministry of Sports and Culture officials) acting as a bridge between them.

NPO1's main aim is to influence public opinion in Northeast Asia to create mutual trust and avoid antagonism based on prejudices. In order to achieve its goals, NPO1 heavily invests in exchanges and networking among Korean, Chinese and Japanese intellectuals. In the process, NPO1 has created a network of volunteers and contributors within Japan and also in China and Korea. NPO1's forums, receptions and other platforms have become the venue that bring together influential multipliers for intellectual exchange and networking fostering dialogue and mutual understanding in the region. They bring together intellectuals of Korea, China and Japan. Therefore, Japanese bureaucrats and politicians are eager to participate and meet NPO1's guests. When asked whether they use the networks of the Japanese Foreign Ministry to invite Korean and Chinese intellectuals to their events NPO1 President answers confident of their networking capacity:

I would not say yes. Because we have a better network than the government. We have a very strong network. So depending on the agenda and forum, government officials ask us to invite them to the panels, not the other way around. We do not expect anything from them in return. We do not have much full-time staff, but we have quite strong network of volunteers and contributors. We have about 200 people participating in this forum. We sometimes invite people to receptions. Foreign Minister came to our last forum and gave a speech.

Nittokai is an actor with great bridging social capital as it is centrally located between its ties particularly in Turkey and in Japan. Nittokai invites Turkish journalists, academicians, politicians and other intellectuals to Japan to facilitate intellectual exchanges between them and their Japanese counterparts. It also invites Japanese journalists, academicians, politicians and other intellectuals to Turkey or in some cases to other countries for the same reasons.



Nittokai organizes its events with its Japanese partner organizations in Japan, and with Turkish partner organizations, JWF and others, in Turkey. It is difficult for both Turkey-based organizations and Japan-based organizations to invite and host intellectuals of the other country without the bridging role of Nittokai. One example of such exchange is Nittokai's Turkey-Japan Media Forum which it co-organizes with JWF's Medialog Platform. The first event in Istanbul on 11 September 2014 (Medialog Platform, 2014) and the second event in Tokyo on 4 October 2015 (Medialog Platform, 2015) brought together prominent journalists from both countries to discuss issues related to press freedoms, political events that concern both countries such as terrorism, women empowerment in media, digital media's role in transparency and ways to improve Japan-Turkey relations using symbols such as Ertugrul Frigate. Executive Director of Nittokai explains their role in the exchanges between the two societies:

We hold Turkey-Japan media workshop in which prominent Japanese and Turkish journalists meet each other and exchange opinions. This workshop and our other activities are good opportunities for Japanese and Turkish people to meet each other and have valuable exchanges and engage in dialogue. In a way, we establish friendship bridges between Japanese and Turkish people.

TCF has offices and hence networks in the U.S. and Turkey. TCF bridges between its American and Turkish networks, particularly between Turkish artists and American art-lovers. For example, through its Sculpture Objects & Functional Art (SOFA) Fair, TCF hosts Turkish artists in the U.S. facilitating exhibitions, lectures, and discussions on Turkish artists' work in the U.S. (TCF, 2015c). TCF also hosts Art and Lecture Series in the U.S. and Turkey, and occasionally in other countries, on various topics related to Turkish culture and history

inviting prominent scholars or artists who are experts on the topic (TCF, 2015b). Furthermore, it bridges the donors, who are interested in promotion of Turkish culture and trust TCF as nonprofit organization, and grant or scholarship recipients, who are the mediums of promotion of Turkish culture (TCF, 2015e). Without the bridging role of TCF, or for that matter similar bridging organizations, the meeting of Turkish arts and culture with its enthusiasts and the matching of donors and grantees could have been more difficult or even impossible in some cases.

In addition to structural holes, there can also be “cultural holes” (Pachucki and Breiger, 2010) that may hinder understanding of cultural and social practices or discourses in some networks. The actors who are knowledgeable about both cultures and social practices of the host and foreign publics and/or organizations would be able to span these cultural holes and smoothen the exchanges (see also Seo, 2013; Zaharna, 2007, 2010, 2012b).

Nittokai does not only span structural holes (Burt, 2000), but it also spans cultural holes (Pachucki and Breiger, 2010) as it bridges different cultures, practices and understandings as well as bridging between different nodes. Nittokai executives and staff smoothen the exchanges between Turkish and Japanese people with their understanding of both cultures and both languages. For this reason, it has both Turkish and Japanese advisors not to cause any misunderstandings.

AAR values cooperation with local NGOs very much as the latter can bridge between AAR and the local public. The Program Manager of AAR says that “at the field level, we usually liaise with key local NGOs who are more capable of maneuvering without cultural frictions.” By cooperating with a local NGO, AAR empowers the local NGOs as the latter undertakes the broker role, and apparently weakens its power as a gatekeeper. However, this

comes with a tradeoff for less cultural holes in its activities. Furthermore, AAR also assumes the bridging role between its Japanese networks and the local NGOs and needy people there. In short, this tradeoff does not weaken it as much as it brings benefits.

These network bridges (Zaharna, 2013: 183-184) have potential for not only public diplomacy of their home countries but also for the public diplomacy of the countries they have ties with. For example, MOFAS members are said to represent the countries they lived in when they come back to Korea (interview, MOFAS General Affairs Manager). Another example is Nittokai which is as much a Japanese NGO as much as it is a Turkish NGO. Indeed, it may be considered more of a Japanese NGO both legally as it is founded in Japan, and practically as they represent Japan in Turkey and facilitate exchanges for mutual understanding contributing to better understanding of Japan by Turkish people, both living in Japan and in Turkey. These and other similar NGOs can be considered bridges and partners for state agencies from countries other than their home country.

### **5.2.3. Limited Resources**

In the analytical framework, it is argued that even though state agencies might have enough credibility and reach for certain network initiatives, state agencies that are responsible for public diplomacy have also other duties to perform with their scarce human, financial and social capital. This, in turn, limits state agencies' capacity to maximize public diplomacy outcomes. Therefore, it was proposed that state-centric public diplomacy alone is not enough for effective public diplomacy. In the interviews, even though there were no directly related questions many participants talked about the limitations of the state-centric

public diplomacy especially because they are too busy with other duties.

FEC has quite significant contributions to Japanese public diplomacy ranging from networking to fostering mutual understanding and trade. They have pride in their activities that are done at a non-state capacity. At the same time, they see their activities “supplementary” (Young, 2006: 39-40) to that of state. On this issue, FEC director says that “we do things, when asked by foreign ambassadors posted in Tokyo, which are to be done by the government, but they cannot meet... because the government is too busy.” In these cases, government is capable of doing the necessary activities, but there are more urgent or more important demands. One such example is given by the Director:

When we had great Northeastern Earthquake many countries very kindly offered help, but they offered us too much and the Government was not able to absorb all of them instantly. There was one case; one Ambassador contacted us saying that his government sent an airplane with a certain amount of blankets and it already started to fly and they informed the Ministry Foreign Affairs of Japan, but Minister of Foreign Affairs was not able to accept that amount, because they were already so full. So the Ambassador pushed us and we tried to find someone who can make arrangement for receiving blankets and distributing them to those who suffered from earthquake through Japanese Red Cross. In the end, we were thanked by both that Ambassador and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

When asked whether Turkeyfe was approached by Turkish state agencies for collaboration on certain public diplomacy initiatives, Co-founder of Turkeyfe also mentioned diplomats’ other occupations despite being open for collaboration:

I have been to embassies a lot while working on my dissertation and for other researches. They are unbelievably busy, they work intensely. But if you go to

them with a project, saying we can do certain part of public diplomacy, they welcome you. Nevertheless, unfortunately they don't have time to look for who is doing what in Korea or Washington etc. ... The ambassador has the duty to entertain the Turks with cultural events and at the same time to promote Turkey. When he does the event for promotion, then the Turks complain that the event is a very ordinary one. For example, they show a documentary about Turkish culture, people in Washington like it, but the Turks are not satisfied with it... They have the challenge of this dilemma of entertaining the Turks there and promoting Turkey to the Americans. Otherwise, talking about Washington Embassy, they work very well and very hard. They want to do more public diplomacy events, but they do not have enough time.

VANK Director talked about the limitations of having only official channels to promote the image of the home nation. For him, VANK volunteers work as hard as diplomats or even harder to promote Korea overseas. In a way, their hard-work is "supplementary" (Young, 2006: 39-40) to state agencies' promotion of the country. He believes that this is the case in many other countries, and they too need civil society organizations like VANK to promote their own countries:

For sure, the public diplomacy phenomenon will be very popular over internet and overseas promotion of a country. That is because, promoting the image of one's home-country through only diplomats have limitations for sure. Then VANK-type of organizations will be very popular in different countries. Countries in Asia and Africa have limitations to promote their own history and culture using only diplomats. People might feel uncomfortable with what Western media narrow-mindedly promotes about their country. But at the same time,

citizens might not have developed consciousness to promote their country by themselves. Therefore, somebody like VANK, must raise awareness for people to promote their country.

Turkayfe's starting point was also the idea that Turkey's public diplomacy policies were messaging oriented and this was short of being effective. A few young Turkish living in the United States decided to create an alternative initiative to promote Turkey. Co-founder of Turkayfe explains how they started: "we began with the idea that Turkey's branding campaigns is largely based on advertising and they were unsuccessful... We believed that there must be a story telling the human side of the country." They believed that the state is limited to do certain activities, but they could do it as a nongovernmental initiative:

Turkayfe's goal in creating nation brand was to do what state cannot. For example, here (website) we can talk about Armenian "Genocide" and Kurdish problem without any burden. We share different opinions on these issues. We also published a statement about Gezi protests. We can say things that Turkish Office of Public Diplomacy or Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot say or do... We argue that state cannot do certain things because of the bureaucracy... For example, an ambassador has many ideals that he/she has to protect. We have less of it; our red lines are more flexible. We believed that we can plug the gap here. We saw the gap. We saw that people could debate these sensitive but debatable topics in our platform.

FEC's President also emphasizes their flexibility as a nongovernmental organization. He believes that governments have official positions and it may be difficult for them to move beyond that position to say or do certain things:

We have a pure private civic standing. So we say what we think, what we ask, what we desire to peoples of other countries. Government people, not only in Japan but also in other countries, -of course- must consider their own official standings or positions... But we speak and discuss freely; this is also important.

VANK's Director thinks that their alternative approach to promotion of Korea plugs the gaps created by the limitations of state agencies. VANK's efforts to promote Korea are appreciated and welcomed by the diplomats, but at the same time they think that VANK's activities should have been done by diplomats. VANK Director explains:

When I meet officials, they might have a good mind to help us, but on the other hand they say they feel embarrassed. This is because, still many people think that this (what VANK does) is something government must do. It is apparent that government has limitations to do diplomacy... Public diplomacy recently has become a trend all over the world. What we have been doing for years has become something that must be done... We have never said 'we do this very well' or have not tried to achieve recognition from the government, but we worked hard, even harder than the diplomats who worked for the government. As we do, state agencies came to us voluntarily saying 'let's do it together.'

NPO1's President believes that their forums have been influential because they are organized in nongovernmental capacity without government support. The President feels that government officials see NPO1's activities with some jealousy as they could have been done by their institutions. He explains:

We do not have not much cooperative relationship with the government. They are in a way worried about what we do... because in a way they are thinking that is

not good for us and for the government to participate in this forum which is people-to-people exchange... We have very strong board... After ten years' experience, the forum became more influential... The reason why it became so huge is simply because we had this distance from the government. And if we did some work in relation to the government, this forum would not have been this influential as it is now... I think this is what public diplomacy should do in a true sense. But if this was done by the government, this would not happen in the same way because of their interests. There are some people who are kind of jealous of what we do. But we generally have quite good relationships with government officials and they participate in their private capacity.

In a similar vein, SGI Director credits the power of people-to-people diplomacy which is "more disseminating and more effective than state-to-state diplomacy. Because, ... heart-to-heart bonds that bring people together serve as the bedrock for enduring friendship exchange." He continues: "if trust is lacking between the people involved, any collaborative effort, especially those that are politically or economically motivated, will likely collapse like a house of cards. It is our belief that if politics and the economy were a ship then it is on the great ocean of the people that such a vessel can remain afloat and sail smoothly forward."

These discussions support the arguments that governments cannot rely on state-centric public diplomacy initiatives (Armitage and Nye, 2007: 65; Attias, 2012: 474; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2014; 2008: 12; Zatepilina, 2010: 4, 27; The U.S. Department of State, 2010: 99, 177; Cabral et al., 2014: 2; Lord, 2008: 1, 4-5; Seo, 2013: 160-161; Snow, 2008: 191, 199). It can be argued that governments increasingly need NGOs' collaboration either to outsource their activities or to collaborate on different initiatives.



### **5.3. Collaborative Public Diplomacy and Selected NGOs**

In this section, collaboration between NGOs and state agencies are analyzed. Typology of Collaboration between State Agencies and NGOs, the typology that was created in the analytical framework, guides the data gathered for this research. As discussed in the analytical framework, the typology deals with how collaboration between state agencies and NGOs for public diplomacy initiatives take place. This typology is based on two dimensions: who initiates the project and who proposes collaboration in the first place.

#### **5.3.1. Passive Contractor**

In the typology, the collaboration type is called ‘passive contractor’ if an NGO acts as contractor (outsourcer) for a state agency’s initiative in which the state agency’s objectives are prioritized. In such cases, the state agency outsources its certain public diplomacy initiative and expects NGOs to apply to be outsourcer without state agency having to search for eligible partners itself.

KCOC has an outsourcing agreement with KOICA to select 340 volunteers for World Friends Korea program, which is Korea’s overseas volunteer corps. When asked how KCOC got to outsource this program, the Secretary General said that the proposal came from KCOC, making the contractor relationship passive. Secretary General explained:

In 2003, when Roh Moo-Hyun became the president, he promised to increase number of youth volunteers to 1000 from 200. With this opportunity, KCOC proposed to KOICA to send volunteers to where it already operates. KOICA liked the idea and saw this as division of labor as the size of volunteers increased very suddenly. And our member NGOs liked the idea as they would get extra youth manpower to use.

As discussed in networked public diplomacy section, it is easier for KOICA to deal with one organization rather than hundreds of them by itself. Therefore, KCOC acts as a contractor for KOICA arranging 340 volunteers. These 340 volunteers go to about 40 countries to help the activities of KCOC member NGOs in the field as part of World Friends Korea program. Same volunteer corps both serve the interests of KOICA (i.e. national interests defined by a state agency) and also that of internationally active Korean NGOs through this program. Secretary General elaborates on how this collaboration emerged:

The budget comes from the government, but they participate at private (NGO) activities really. We see these volunteers as beginner activists, but after they are done with their volunteer corps activities, they can be employed by that NGO or return to Korea and get a job at another NGO. We think of these volunteer corps activities as an introduction to become an NGO activist.

For its projects, KCOC applies for funds to mainly KOICA, in rare cases to MOFA (but these funds also are given through KOICA) and Community Chest of Korea which is under Ministry of Welfare. KCOC gets contracted by Chest of Korea, which has a huge budget compared to individual NGOs. Secretary General says that they get about 90% of their “budget from KOICA and the rest 10% is from membership dues and Community Chest of

Korea projects.” When asked whether they are approached by KOICA or other state agencies for collaboration, Secretary General said that KOICA has a budget for projects and accepts applications for them. This application procedure is how KCOC also gets its funds from KOICA. “So, government leaves its door open; but I do not think that government sees NGO projects as much important as to actively search for them” says Secretary General.

Similarly, KOVA is also an outsourcer of KOICA for World Friends Korea program. As an organization consisted of former members of the program, KOVA is responsible for training of prospective volunteer corps before they leave for the program. Part of KOVA’s expenses, especially salaries of its staff are paid by KOICA since KOVA acts a contractor of KOICA’s World Friends Korea program (interview, Secretary General).

### **5.3.2. Active Contractor**

In the typology, collaboration type is called ‘active contractor’ when a state agency searches for suitable and capable NGOs to outsource state agency-initiated projects. State agencies might have some projects, but because of certain reasons it may want to outsource it to NGOs rather than implementing the project itself. These reasons could be lack of resources, time, capabilities or probably because it may be more appropriate that state is not directly involved due to the characteristic of the project. There can be other reasons too. Different kinds of NGOs may be more suitable and capable for different projects and accordingly approached by state agencies to perform the related tasks on behalf of the respective state agency.

During the interview, HFA Team Manager talked about a specific project they did together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The project was designed to bring Korean-speaking Japanese and Chinese students to Korea to meet and debate political issues with their Korean counterparts. It was originally MOFA's idea, but they wanted HFA to run the program. It was probably the case that MOFA did not want to carry out the project itself to make it look more civilian initiative or to avoid the risks of sensitiveness of the issues discussed. Team Manager did not know why exactly HFA—but not another NGO- was approached by MOFA for this program, but she guessed that it could be that the diplomat in charge of that project, who previously attended one of their earlier programs, might have thought that HFA was capable to be a contractor for this project:

There is a diplomat at Northeast Asian Cooperation Team at Ministry of Foreign Affairs who speaks Chinese and translator of President Park Geun-Hye when she meets Chinese Premier. We invited her to our earlier Foreign Language Contest as a jury member. It seems that having attended the program, she really liked it. She also might have liked how we widen students' perspectives. And it is difficult for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially North East Asian team to bring together Korean, Chinese and Japanese students. These three countries have not very good relations and political problems among themselves, but Ministry wanted to widen its network from a people-to-people diplomacy perspective including programs with university students. However, they (MOFA) do not have enough manpower. There is much job to do, but it seems they do not have enough people. So, they were looking for a partner to collaborate with. MOFA called us and asked us to work together. That's how we decided to work together... It was a camp where Korean, Chinese and Japanese university students could mix

together, debate and become friends.

### **5.3.3. Passive Collaboration**

It is the case that state agencies and NGOs also collaborate for NGO-initiated projects in which NGOs' objectives are prioritized. When a state agency opens the channels for NGOs to approach it for collaboration for NGOs' own initiatives, the collaboration type is called 'passive collaboration' in the typology. As opposed to being a contractor for state agencies' projects, NGOs request collaboration with state agencies financially, logistically or in other ways for the projects they initiated for their own objectives in this type of collaboration. Some NGOs' way of business may not be that suitable for being a contractor for the state. They may always prefer to do their own projects. Yet, they may still need and request state agencies' cooperation for these projects such as for financial and other resources, information and legitimacy (or public confidence -공실력- as Korean interviewees put it).

DF does not get financial support from state agencies. However, it closely collaborates with especially embassies and TIKa for information and logistics for aid activities overseas.

When we are to collect donations for overseas projects, sometimes we get Ministry of Foreign Affairs' opinion. We decide on our project after we get a report from them based on their communication with the respected countries. During our overseas activities, we visit our Embassies and get information about sensitivities and specific conditions of respective countries... We collaborate with state agencies and we are open to new collaborations. We contact them when we

need and we are always open to their proposals and demands. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) is also another important organization we exchange opinions during our overseas activities. In order to buy a building for Gaza Technical University in Palestine in 2009, Deniz Feneri, İHH, Kimse Yok Mu, Cansuyu, Yeryüzü Doktorları, Yardımeli and Kardelen NGOs collaborated under the leadership of TIKA.

AAR, also an aid and development organization, similarly works in close cooperation with the relative state agencies, but grants from state agencies such as Japanese MOFA and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) constitute important part of their costs. Program Manager says:

Cooperation with state agencies constitutes an important part of project formulation. We frequently get in touch with both Japanese and local governments mainly to discuss whether our plans are acceptable to them, and to collect information on the official procedures or regulations which need to be heeded in order for a project to be realized... We receive a substantial financial support both from MOFA and JICA... Both MOFA and JICA have funding schemes to support NGO activities. We submit application forms according to the rules set out... Funding from the public sector roughly covers 40% of our overseas project costs.

HFA does not have many instances that they collaborate with state agencies. They request logical help from Korean Mission in New York for its program in the UN headquarters in New York. Team Manager says “we do not collaborate with Korean embassies much, but in order to get education in UN Headquarters, you need to make reservations. We did this in collaboration with WFUNA, but in the end they do it through Permanent Mission of Korea

to the UN.”

ISR’s collaboration with state agencies is limited, but there are two types of programs where they collaborate. The first type is when sending sports equipment to abroad as part of their aid program. ISR requests logistics cooperation from MOFA and Korean embassy in that country to deliver these equipment overseas. The second type is when ISR invites VIP guests to Korea for their ISR’s forum, the NGO asks MOFA to cover certain costs such as VIP accommodation and transportation costs and to help logistically such as providing a seminar room. ISR Executive Director explains that MOFA officials are more than happy to collaborate for this program as it is for their best interest:

Sports organizations should have autonomy from political organizations and we would like to be abide by that rule, because we deal with sports. So even if the Ministry (MOFA) wants to support or fund our activities, we may need to say ‘no.’ Perhaps, the Ministry could provide us minimum support to our requests such as lending us facilities such as a seminar room for our projects. I think they are more than willing to help us. Because, they are happy that we are bringing people to Korea or educating people and so forth. But, other than that, we do not get funding from the government, we have had strict rules about that and that’s why our offices are small and we have limited number of people.

JWF’s activities are very international and not limited to Turkey. Therefore, its collaboration with state agencies are not limited to Turkey. Collaboration with state agencies usually includes using their logos, co-organizing of events and participation by government representatives, bureaucrats and diplomats. Vice President of JWF gives the example of a side event which was organized by JWF during the Commission on the Status of Women

(CSW) program in 2013. The event took place at the Turkish Center of Permanent Mission of Turkey to the UN in New York and then-Minister of Family and Social Policies Fatma Sahin gave a speech (Kalaycı, 2013). In the 2014 CSW program, JWF's side event, which I also had a chance to participate, was on the topic of "Girls Education in Afghanistan: Achievements & Challenges" and took place in the UN Headquarters in New York (PII, 2014). This event was co-organized with Peace Islands Institute (New York-based partner of JWF) and the Permanent Mission of Afghanistan to the UN. The Vice President also gives examples of their collaboration with embassies of various countries for co-organizing events particularly in New York and Geneva where UN have headquarters.

FEC is very active internationally. As mentioned before, FEC has a good network of retired diplomats, retired bureaucrats, high level officials and foreign ambassadors. FEC uses these networks to arrange its delegations' visits abroad, forums in Japan and for its other programs. Apparently it is usually FEC approaching state agencies for collaboration rather than vice versa. FEC Director explains how their collaboration takes place with state agencies:

When we send delegations abroad we ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan to help us in making appointments with dignitaries of the receiving countries. For instance, when we sent a delegation to Vietnam and met the President of Vietnam, we approached the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Embassy of Vietnam in Tokyo. Both ways and we ask them to make an appointment for the delegation to meet certain people, and they do help us... We also have relationship with other ministries and we have former deputy ministers of these ministries as our advisers.



Turkayfe requested help from Turkish Missions and Turkish Culture and Tourism Office in the United States for their Turkish coffee project. Even though the help they could get was very limited, they believe that the fact that a state agency collaborated with them was very meaningful and added value to their project. Like in many other cases, Turkayfe was not approached by state agencies. As explained earlier, Co-founder of Turkayfe believes that diplomats are very busy and have no time to look for potential partners but reiterates that “whenever we approached them they were very much open... and welcoming.” Co-founder of Turkayfe explains:

We needed money for the Turkish coffee seminars. We talked to the Tourism Office. Both Tourism Office within the Embassy in Washington and within the Consulate in New York gave us moral and material support. The material support was a little bit limited... Tourism Office’s support to us was rather non-pecuniary, because they let us put logos of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Tourism Office on the coffee truck. It boosted our credibility; we were no longer few kids working together. Our project was now acknowledged by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consulates and the embassies... Later on the same project was done in Europe, in Brussels and in Netherlands. Turkish coffee was distributed in front of NATO and EU in Brussels. Embassies and consulates also helped a lot there. I visited Office of Public Diplomacy two years ago for my own dissertation thesis. I met Director Cemalletin Hasimi... Even though we never worked together with them before they knew about Turkayfe and followed our activities; they liked what we do.

By being able to put logos of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Tourism Office on their projects, Turkayfe borrowed state agencies’ legitimacy for their NGO activities. As

Turkey's Director said, it boosted their credibility. NGOs' credibility and legitimacy are heavily based on their specialized knowledge, expertise and moral authority (Kramer, 1981: 232, 260-262; Kelley, 2014: 25; Price, 2003: 92). However, in some cases state can be seen more reliable, credible and legitimate (Salamon, 1987) and NGOs such as in this case may want to benefit from the reliability, credibility and legitimacy of the state agencies to complement their own. A similar argument was made by VANK's Director:

It seems that VANK members like it when we do something together with government institutes. If we work together with Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Ministry of Education, more people join our project. Rather than joining VANK's project which are done by some people on their own, people prefer that diplomats join events and we do MOU with MOFA. It looks to have more *public confidence* (emphasis added).

KOVA's Secretary General believes that other people have more "public confidence" in their activities when they cooperate with the state, but it is also possible to earn it by cooperating with large companies such as Samsung.

KCOC's Secretary General also believes that particularly in developing countries working together with state agencies increase their legitimacy: "it seems that we have more legitimacy when we do projects together with the government. I think, especially in third world countries doing projects with KOICA's funding earns us more trust compared to working purely in private capacity."

Nittokai does not get funding from state agencies. So far it has only collaborated symbolically with state agencies including Turkish Embassy in Tokyo and Japanese ministries borrowing their names and logos for the events. Even though its collaboration with

state agencies is very limited, Nittokai collaborates more with the Japanese state agencies than Turkish state agencies. There are apparently two reasons for that. Firstly, because Nittokai is founded in Japan and it is legally a Japanese NGO. Therefore, Japanese state agencies are closer and easier to reach. Secondly, following the 2013 corruption scandal in Turkey involving high figures of the Turkish government as well as many other famous business people, the relations between Hizmet Movement, which inspired Nittokai, and the AKP government soured (for more, see Bilgin, 2014; Gürbüz, 2014; Turkish Review, 2014). Nittokai Executive Director explains their collaboration with state agencies:

We have never got any financial support from Turkish Embassy or any other state agency. Until the latest developments (the corruption scandal), the Embassy supported our activities by participating in our events and rarely borrowing their names to the events. Sometimes, they would come to us to ask for support to some of their activities. However, following the events (the corruption scandal), this kind of cooperation too ceased... We borrow the names of Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education for our painting and essay contest. Even though it is symbolic support, it is very valuable for us. That is because, the Japanese organizations would not give you support right away; they would observe what kind of NGO you are, what kind of activities you do. And when we get support from them, it increases the credibility and familiarity of our activities.

In the second interview with AAR's Program Manager, reflecting on the above-cited thoughts of Turkeyfe's Co-founder and VANK's Director, I asked what he thinks about whether cooperation with state agencies make their organization look more legitimate in the eyes of the public. He has a different opinion: "it is more a matter of legitimacy, or lawfulness of our projects in the face of the local government. I really do not think normal citizens give

much attention whether our projects are endorsed by state agencies or not.”

Another role some of the selected NGOs play in terms of public diplomacy is that they do analysis related to their field of expertise and make policy recommendations to related state agencies. When there are appropriate channels between the relevant state agencies and these NGOs, they contribute to policymaking with their recommendations. Such cases are mentioned in the interviews with KCOC, KOVA and NPO1. KOVA’s Secretary General says that: “we support and advocate KOICA, but we also inspect KOICA’s foreign aid and international development and cooperation and whether it is going the right direction... We say what we need to say to them and we keep our organic cooperation and mutual assistance relationship.”

#### **5.3.4. Active Collaboration**

The last type of collaboration in the Typology of Public Diplomacy Collaboration is ‘active collaboration’ in which state agencies search for NGOs whose activities and interests are in line with the state agencies’ public diplomacy objectives and propose those NGOs collaboration for the projects NGOs initiated. In this type of collaboration, an NGO can keep doing its own projects with the state agencies’ support. In other words, the NGOs do not need to go through application process for certain collaboration scheme in this type of collaboration. Both active collaboration and active contractor type of partnerships between state agencies and NGOs are possible and sustainable in the long-term when there is mutual management of the projects and both parties are able to maintain their identity and values

(Brinkerhoff, 2002). Active collaboration is particularly significant because of independence concerns and emphasis on internal values in the case of some NGOs. Independence concerns of NGOs are indeed their concerns to maintain their identity and values, which are what make them the NGO they are in the eyes of their constituents. In other words, it is NGOs' downward accountability towards their constituents and benefactors, and their internal accountability towards their values (Ebrahim, 2003: 814-815).

In reality, this is not a common type of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs since it is usually the NGOs that have to go through application process and convince state agencies for collaboration. This is because the state has control over huge resources that NGOs may need and the size and power of the state makes NGOs more dependent on the state rather than vice versa (Sen and Davala, 2002: 39). The interdependence between state agencies and NGOs is often not balanced.

Active collaboration is especially significant to utilize unrealized potential of NGOs that refrain from requesting something from the state. They may refrain for various reasons such as unending bureaucratic procedures or their independence concerns. Some of the NGOs have strict guidelines to protect their independence from the state while others act more pragmatically despite hesitations. In this section, what participants have said about active collaboration and about their independence concerns are explored.

Out of all the NGOs studied, VANK is the one that is most open to collaboration with state agencies and whose activities most overlap with those of state agencies. That is because most of their activities are parallel to Korea's public diplomacy activities as they seek directly Korea's national interests through its "Cyber Diplomatic" activities or indirectly contribute to Korea's public diplomacy through programs like World Changer. However, VANK has

never worked as a contractor for state agencies says the Director showing VANK's prioritization of its organizational ideals. VANK is sometimes approached by Korean state agencies who proposed collaboration, showing officials' appreciation of VANK's activities. However, VANK values its own agendas very much and does not want direction from state agencies. The Director explains that they want to keep their voluntary purity by being independent from government policies and act flexibly:

We can always extend the leadership (of a project). It is because, our activities are saving the country (for the sake of our country), not (only for the sake of) VANK. VANK is a platform whose dream is promoting Korea all over the world. And also teaching Koreans about the world. To realize these dreams, collaboration is necessary for sure. Collaboration includes state agencies, academic institutes, corporations and others. But for such collaboration, we thought that it is our purity and sincerity that make state agencies approach us voluntarily. In order to maintain that purity we said 'rather than applying for support first, let's work hard and they (state agencies) will come and we can collaborate if they come. So in some cases we also collaborated without being funded. There are times that they ask for collaboration and times that they do not. There also some cases that after they ask us for collaboration, we break up.

#### **5.3.4.1. Independence Concerns of NGOs**

HFA is open to collaboration with state agencies, but as mentioned above it refrains from getting money from the state. It prefers collaboration when the request comes from the state

rather than applying for collaboration themselves. Team Manager explains:

If you get money from somewhere, of course you have to follow the guideline for spending the money and writing a report how you executed the project. And you cannot just reject when they ask you to go certain direction. Therefore, because of these, we finance most of our projects on our own or get donations from ordinary donors who have no such expectations. In turn, we do not have to listen to anybody and just do according to our views. When our values match, of course we can work together as we do with the camp together with Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

DF works in close cooperation with the state agencies and publicly known as being close to the AKP governments (2002-present). However, they also do not get funds from state agencies. When asked whether there is a special reason for that, PR Coordinator explains:

Voluntary organizations should not have an expectation or a demand from state organizations. State should do what it is supposed to do. Civil society organizations (CSOs) should mobilize civilians to generate resources and implement projects for the betterment of the society and serve the happiness of the disadvantaged people. CSOs should sometimes be able to mobilize state agencies to encourage and pave the way... The relations between CSOs and state agencies should be carefully guided by established norms and rules. A CSO should not be seen as an organization that is led or administered by the state agencies.

FEC is open to collaboration with state agencies and acts pragmatic about it in order to make the best of its networking capabilities. However, it is very strict about receiving any financial support from state agencies and being under uncomfortable burden of such support. President of FEC says that “we do not get any financial assistance from the government. We

manage to carry out this organization by our own members' annual fees. This is very important. So, we are not influenced by any people, any organization, groups or government. We are independent.” Director of FEC explains about their collaboration with different state agencies and their networks in different state agencies, but he also clearly rules out financial support from state agencies:

This is a rough explanation of activities we have and relation with the Government or state. We do not have any official link at all... We do not have any financial link or even legal linkage at all, but the fact is that our relationship is very close; we exchange views with Ministry of Foreign Affairs particularly, with other government agencies also. In fact, we believe that our goal coincides with the goals of the government agencies or Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

SGI also wants to keep its distance from the state. Yet, it is open to collaboration on project-based partnerships. It never seeks financial assistance from state agencies, but keep them informed about their international activities. When SGI or its sister organizations hold an exhibition, they inform related state agencies or embassies of other countries and those state agencies or embassies may want to be involved or sponsor the exhibitions. SGI Director explains why they refrain from taking financial support from state agencies: "normally we do not seek the support or cooperation from the state agencies. We want to keep our independence; because the state agencies have their own agenda." However, he also adds that “on occasion, the Soka Gakkai has liaised with the government when there happen to be initiatives in which government agencies are exploring partnership with NGOs with coinciding aims, such as those contributing to the public good.”

ISR as a sports organization based on Olympic Movement regards its independence and



autonomy very significantly. Therefore, ISR does not want to be influenced or obliged by funding conditions. While ISR avoids direct funding by the state agencies, it prefers getting its main funding from global companies which sponsor the Olympics. In Executive Director's words, ISR accepts only "symbolic" assistance by state agencies when their agendas match; otherwise state agencies' funding procedures are strict and time-consuming as well as being conspicuous for an independent organization. Executive Director elaborates on funding and independence:

We are lucky since we reject the government funding. Because, we want to be more autonomous just like the sporting field and that is why we can approach sports people more freely. If they (sports people) knew that we are funded and supported by the Korean Government, I do not think that they would want to come to our forum really. They would say 'if it is the government's invitation, we feel very uncomfortable'... If you get funding from government organization, you have to comply to their conditions or their requests from time to time. Even if the conditions are not outspoken, but you feel obliged that you have to go and promote Korea and Koreanness... I have seen many organizations that that gets money from the government and then their activities can never be free from their influence and you need to report how you spend it, what you have done for the government and for Korea. You always have to write a report. At least we are free from that. So, I feel that we can be more independent than other NGOs that get funding from the Korean government.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Months after this interview, the Executive Director said, in a second interview, that they have got some funding from a state agency for one of their recent projects. She believes that it is a very meaningful project, but remarks that they have already experienced the influence and intervention of that state agency on their project objective and spending.

Turkeyfe's collaboration with state agencies is closer to passive collaboration as discussed above. Turkeyfe is also unlikely to be a contractor to a state agency. They would like to stick to their own projects denying state's intervention in their projects. Co-founder of Turkeyfe says that:

We started only by ourselves and we had nothing to do with the state. We wanted to leave state behind and decided not to use their money in the beginning. This was our goal which is to do public diplomacy; talking from a non-state actor perspective; we called this "social diplomacy" in our article<sup>34</sup>... We want to be independent always, but we are then open to collaborate with anyone as much as we can.

NPO1 is another NGO which strongly values its independence from state agencies. It has certain criteria to measure its independence. One of these criteria sets the limit of state funds to less than 30% of all costs. For NPO1, independence is a core element of the NGO's mission, its being. In order to do their activities effectively, NPO1 must keep its independence from state agencies. For example, NPO1 evaluates the performance of the government and publishes its reports in a newspaper; if its relations are too intimate with the government, it would not be a respected candidate for such evaluation. President of NPO1 says that "we have to have some distance from the government. When we have some kind of cooperation with them, it disables us to evaluate them fairly." Furthermore, as mentioned above, NPO1 President believes that their forums were successful due to their distance from the government and keeping the forum as a people-to-people venue. NPO1 President explains how much they value their independence and interests even in a collaborative

---

<sup>34</sup> See (Sevin and Salcıgil White, 2011: 85).

initiative:

We still have some collaborative relationship with Japanese government and their ministries. But it is not to complement their activities. We are using their channels as a way of doing our activities. If we think what they are doing is wrong, we strongly oppose it. We sometimes have grants from Japanese government. But this is not for us to do their job, but they are just cooperating with us in our area of interest. We are placing importance on our independence. ... If the Foreign Ministry interferes with what we do, we will not be able to cooperate with them or even receive some grant from them. Ideally we would like to run this organization without government grant in the future, but we have not achieved that state yet.

JWF is another NGO which is very strict about its independence. JWF executives refrain from getting financial support from Turkish state agencies to maintain their independence. JWF is very active in terms of making collaboration with various Turkish and foreign state agencies and international institutes, however, when it comes to funding, JWF prefers mostly corporate sponsorships or occasionally EU funds. When I visited JWF with Korean government officials and students back in 2010, JWF's principle of not receiving any funds from state agencies was told us by a representative at JWF, who is not the one interviewed. When asked why, he replied "because, if you get money, you get orders" (JWF, personal communication, 5 August 2010). Vice President of JWF, who is interviewed, explains their approach to collaboration with state agencies and independence:

We preferred not to get any financial support from state's resources because we are a non-governmental nonprofit organization. Furthermore, our activities are

very influential particularly in Turkey. For example, Abant Platform's meetings are broadcast live by two to three national TV channels for two days and during each Abant Platform meeting more than 800 news articles are written. Therefore, it has high advertisement value and we never had difficulties finding sponsors. Many corporations in Turkey like to give us money for their logo sponsorship; and we prefer corporate donations or sponsorships. We never applied to Turkish state or others for funding... We sometimes ask our Honorary President his opinions about our projects. He regards our independence very highly. Independence is more important than money; rather than getting funding and having to do everything imposed by the funders, doing smaller scale projects without any funding is much better.

TCF is also very strong about their independence. Even though I did not have a chance to interview its executives in-depth about their relations and collaboration with Turkish state agencies, I was told by the Executive Director (Köknar, G., personal communication, 16 June 2015) that "TCF does no solicit funding, nor accepts any funds from governments or other organizations. It is 100 percent funded through private donations and income from our programs." It is my assumption that TCF, like other NGOs discussed here, wants to maintain its downward accountability and independence and that is why it is very strict about receiving any funds from state agencies and rely on private donations and its own income.

NGOs that receive funds from state agencies may need to find a balance between aligning with state agencies' priorities without feeling obliged to act in the same direction as the government. AAR's Program Manager talks about such balance:

We are sure our operations comply with the Government's ODA Charter... All

the NGOs applying for the funding from MOFA are expected to ‘align’ their projects with the priorities stipulated in the ODA Charter. However, considering the ideological, general tone of the Charter itself, most NGOs do not seem to feel that they are ‘obliged’ or ‘pressured’ to act in accordance with the Government’s policies, although it is a fact that both MOFA and JICA are quite demanding when it comes to maintaining funded projects accountable and financially disciplined.

KCOC is heavily dependent upon state funding especially from KOICA. As analyzed above, KCOC’s collaboration with the state agencies is often passive contractor and in some cases passive collaboration. One may wonder how they maintain their identity (Brinkerhoff, 2002) and live up to the expectations of their constituents while being heavily dependent upon the state agencies. Secretary General of KCOC has a satisfying answer to this concern:

There is a lot to do and out of many projects, we can first do what government and we both want to do. It is not yet the time that we would have energy left for other projects that government does not want us to do, but we feel we have to do... Now it (ODA projects) is at very beginner stages, so we have to concentrate on government’s priorities that match with our opinions. And since we do the projects together in harmony very well, we are kind of in a honeymoon period... Since government has increased ODA ratio very rapidly, they do not have much manpower which puts them in a difficult situation. In such circumstances where both government and nonprofit sector needs each other, we enjoy bridging these needs. We have not had opposite opinions so far.

On the other hand, KCOC Secretary General has an explanation for why there has not been much adequate collaboration between state agencies and nonprofits. She believes that it has also a lot to do with the weaknesses of the NGOs. Her argument is similar to Salamon’s

who pointed out failures of nonprofit organizations such as their insufficiency to generate resources and especially their amateurism that lack necessary medical or job training (1987: 39-42; see also 1994: 118-121): “In fact, rather than being government’s fault, NGOs’ capacity is not as much developed as corporations to be a partner to the government to do government’s services on behalf of it. So, rather than government denying cooperation, it is rather that NGOs do not fit the conditions yet.”

		Partnership-initiator	
		State	NGOs
Project-initiator	State	Active contractor (outsourcer): HFA (only one case)	Passive contractor (outsourcer): KCOC, KOVA
	NGOs	Active Collaboration: VANK (occasional)	Passive Collaboration: almost all NGOs; but most refrain from getting financial support

**Table 4:** Selected NGOs in the typology of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs

#### **5.4. NGOs’ Other Contributions to Public Diplomacy of Their Home Countries**

Regardless of their initial objectives, NGOs that are studied for this research project contribute to public diplomacy of their home countries in various ways. Contributions that

are related to relationships, credibility and reach are already discussed. NGOs' other contributions, especially in the medium-term and using information framework, are discussed in this section. These contributions can be understood better when taken together with the above mentioned advantages they have regarding relational and networked public diplomacy.

#### **5.4.1. Unintentional Contributions to Public Diplomacy (Byproducts)**

Some of the NGOs' contributions to public diplomacy of their home countries are rather byproducts as they are not intended outcomes of NGOs' objectives and activities. These byproducts include creating a positive image of the home country while engaging with foreigners for other reasons. Development NGOs may not be primarily concerned with promoting the image of their home country. However, benefactors of the humanitarian aid or other development projects may feel grateful to the people who help them. In many cases, it may be difficult for the local stakeholders (beneficiaries) to identify the helping individuals or NGOs by their individual or organizational identities. It may be easier for the local publics to identify them by rather larger identities such as racial, religious or national identities. When asked, most participants were quite confident that their activities involving foreigners have benefited their home country's image even though it may not have been their priority.

Unintentional contributions of particularly development NGOs' to public diplomacy objectives of the home country can be understood in terms of what Najam (2000: 10-11) calls "co-optive relationship" which refers to state agencies and NGOs having different

objectives, but using similar strategies.

KCOC Secretary General says that especially in developing Asian countries there is a demand for learning Korean and some of their member NGOs offer Korean language courses as part of vocational training. Furthermore, some member NGOs teach taekwondo or Korean music instruments to kids in some places they operate. Furthermore, she adds that their NGOs are seen as Korean wherever they go and their positive activities benefit Korea's image:

For example, one of our member organization's branch in Mongolia begins its activities in countryside such as cultivating vegetables. They put their own NGO's signboard while doing their activities, but more important than that is they are known as Koreans there. For the locals there, whatever the NGO's name is, people see Koreans doing their activities for the projects. For sure, there is Korean identity even if it is unintentional.

As discussed before ISR wants its international identity that is based on Olympic Spirit to be more visible than the fact that it is founded in Korea by Koreans. ISR does not promote Korea explicitly. However, Executive Director explains that their activities might contribute to Korea's public diplomacy efforts: "we try to be very independent and we try to be international, but embedded in our activities are public diplomacy for Korea." ISR promotes and advocates taekwondo in international sports circles and also sends taekwondo equipment, sports program and teachers to developing countries. It is debatable whether promoting taekwondo can be associated with promotion of Korea. However, it is for sure that promotion of taekwondo, whose headquarters Kukkiwon is located in Korea, and efforts to save it as an



Olympic sport are in line with Korea's official public diplomacy policies.

HFA's programs can be categorized into two: educational and humanitarian aid in kind. Educational programs are discussed in other parts of this research already. In the case of humanitarian aid in kind, HFA's scale is not very big as outlined by the Team Manager because it is a new NGO. Their aid is small in scale, yet very significant from the perspectives of the individual recipients. Sneakers and books are distributed by Koreans in Africa and occasionally have signs such as Korean flag or 'from Korea' writings on them that reminds one of Korea. It is small yet illustrative contribution to Korea's image. It is illustrative because there are many other NGOs that contribute to public diplomacy objectives of their home country in a similar way. HFA's Team Manager explains their programs:

We have a program called "Hope-sharing Sneakers" sending sneakers to Africa after drawing pictures on them and we do this together with volunteer clubs at 15 high schools. Furthermore, in Africa even universities are said to lack books, so high school students collect and send English books they had read before and also school supplies they do not use, which are abundant indeed. We call this 'Hope-sharing Goods.'

JWF's activities and vision are beyond Turkey. However, its headquarters are in Turkey and it is known as a Turkish organization in other countries. JWF's Vice President believes that their activities increase familiarity and appreciation of Turkey to the point that it is referred to as a "paradigm shift" by some outside observers:

(Talking about activities about global issues) ... I think all of these in a way contribute to the familiarization of people with Turkey... There is one Greek-American professor who is a prominent scholar in the field of peacebuilding. He

called Peace Projects Grant Program ‘a paradigm shift.’ He said that usually aid or grants go from the North to the South or from the West to the East. However, the fact that now Peace Projects grants are given from a Muslim country –Turkey which is often seen as a Middle Eastern country- to projects from all over the world in a very professional manner is very noteworthy.

Nittokai’s purposes and activities emphasize mutuality rather than one-way promotion of Turkey in Japan. However, it will not be wrong to say that its activities in Japan promotes understanding of Turkey and its culture in Japan while its activities in Turkey promotes Japanese culture and understanding of it in Turkey. On top of all, Nittokai organizes cultural and academic trips for Japanese intellectuals to Turkey showing them Turkey’s historical and touristic spots as well as arranging meetings for them similar to U.S.’ famous International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP). Similarly, they invite Turkish intellectuals to Japan and show them Japan’s historical and touristic sites and make them sure of Japan’s hospitality. In this way, Nittokai contributes to both countries’ public diplomacy objectives, and this invites more in-depth research on similar organizations with dual identity and simultaneous contribution to more than one country’s public diplomacy objectives. Upon the question of whether they contribute to the promotion of Turkey through their activities, the Executive Director comments that:

Even though our organization is not founded to promote Turkey, people know that we are Turkish and when they appreciate our activities, they automatically connect it to Turkey and in turn grow interest in Turkey. Furthermore, for example, when we have painting and essay contest which is not related with Turkey at all, the winners win trip to Turkey as an award, which also helps their understanding of Turkey.

AAR is particularly involved in aid and relief activities. AAR's Program Manager also believes that their activities, together with other Japanese aid and relief activities, have a positive impact on Japan's image overseas:

We are confident that AAR's effort has contributed to improving the sentiment toward Japan's foreign policy in general. Most countries consider Japan as reliable, unbiased donor, who is willing at the same time to respect local customs and priorities. The best example is the fact that 174 countries, which naturally include many of the so-called developing countries, extended support to Japan after it was hit by one of the biggest earthquakes in its history on March 11, 2011. Japan, a long-time major donor country, became the biggest recipient of overseas assistance in that year. Many Japanese people felt that years of expressing goodwill in the form of international cooperation have borne fruit.

PR Coordinator of DF reflects his opinion on the indirect impact of their international activities:

Deniz Feneri has done aid activities in 60 countries. We began our first overseas activity in Ethiopia in 2000. Later on, we continued our overseas activities in Niger, Pakistan, Indonesia and others. Following our activities, Turkey's trade with these respective countries has increased and also our historical and cultural ties are strengthened.

## **5.4.2. Intentional Contributions to Public Diplomacy**

In addition to NGOs that contribute to public diplomacy objectives of their home countries

unintentionally, there are NGOs that intentionally promote the image of its home country. People-to-people diplomacy is embedded in their activities. They use their financial, human and social capital and networks for activities that might produce public diplomacy outcomes that go beyond the benefit of the NGOs' constituents.

Intentional contributions of NGOs' to public diplomacy objectives of the home country can be understood in terms of what Najam (2000: 9-10) calls "complementary relationship" which refers to state agencies and NGOs having different strategies, but apparently for shared objectives.

Secretary General of KOVA thinks that their contribution to public diplomacy is twofold. Firstly, they help official public diplomacy of Korea as part of KOICA's volunteer corps project and by providing KOICA with the necessary manpower and direct or indirect information on infrastructure. Secondly, as an NGO, KOVA is engaged in people-to-people diplomacy through various ways that include sending volunteers abroad to help people, building orphanages and giving scholarships to local students overseas. Secretary General says:

We have our own branch in Nepal, so we send a team volunteers with a term of one year. We have an orphanage called Heaven Land there, and we provide all the living expenses of the volunteers directly. We do this volunteer activity from a people-to-people diplomacy perspective... I feel very proud that the job we do itself is part of people-to-people diplomacy and public diplomacy.

MOFAS members feel that they represent Korea overseas and also within Korea towards foreign envoys just like their spouses who are Korean diplomats. Their consciousness and strong will to represent Korea comes from their "patriotism" and "sense of duty" say

Assistant Manager and General Affairs Manager respectively. Their private activities are indeed for public purposes, which are representing and promoting Korea abroad well and sharing what they have learnt abroad in Korea. General Affairs Manager says that they used to do what Cultural Centers do these days and still MOFAS members undertake Cultural Centers' responsibilities where the latter does not exist. Especially if Korean Embassy's staff is not enough, MOFAS members often do the labor. It is difficult to distinguish whether their work is in private capacity or in official capacity. However, one thing is for sure, even if it is Embassy's work, unpaid spouses are organized and mobilized to help voluntarily for their country through MOFAS' organizational efforts. Participants from MOFAS are confident that they are independent and unrelated to the government while recognizing that sometimes it is difficult to clearly separate their work from that of embassies'. MOFAS is a "for-the-public organization acting privately" summarizes the General Affairs Manager. The Assistant Manager says:

When MOFAS members go overseas due to their diplomat spouses' assignment to overseas missions, we get to meet, get close and make friends with the local people and naturally we get to introduce the Korean culture to them. From that perspective, MOFAS members can be considered leaders of public diplomacy and citizen diplomats in a true sense. Most MOFAS members feel a sort of sense of duty as citizen diplomats and in turn have interest in and study Korean culture.

MOFAS organizes cultural events to promote Korean music, arts, traditional clothes (hanbok) and food. Even in Korea, they teach cooking Korean cuisine to spouses of foreign envoys. "I wonder, is not this an excellent example of public diplomacy?" says the Assistant Manager. In the interview, they also mention how MOFAS members help foreign envoys to

settle in Korea and show them around. Furthermore, MOFAS organizes bazaar for charity bringing together goods from as many as 108 countries and people from all over the world. I observed the charity bazaar on 12 May 2015 which was attended by hundreds of guests who are mainly Korean and foreign diplomats and diplomat spouses. The event reminds one of the Silk Road bazaars where goods from different countries meet their buyers. MOFAS members whose spouses work in Korea at the time represent the division of their spouses in bazaar booths while foreign envoys are invited and given chance to represent their countries and their goods. Hundreds of thousands of dollars that come from the bazaar are used for charity (interview, General Affairs Manager) multiplying the satisfaction of foreign participants. I was told during the Bazaar that they would donate for charity this year (2015) too. Part of 2015 Bazaar's income was donated to the Nepal Embassy in Korea to help the victims of Nepal earthquake (MOFA, 2015). In a similar vein, MOFAS members abroad participate at similar charity bazaars representing Korea and introducing Korean goods to foreigners there.

VANK was founded to create a platform to bring together foreign students who were learning Korean and interested in Korea and Korean students who are interested in making foreign friends. As things turned out, VANK became an advocate and promoter of Korea worldwide. Campaigns to change maps, textbooks and popular websites which give misinformation about Korea and creating alternative resources became the central theme of VANK's mission. All of these are in line with the public diplomacy objectives of Korean MOFA. Furthermore, VANK has been promoting Korea's language, history, food and tourist attractions. They act as if they are diplomats of Korea and call themselves "cyber diplomats." In addition, each active member is honored with other titles such as "Kimchi Ambassador"

or “Dokdo Ambassador” depending on their achievements as cyber diplomats (interview, VANK Director). The Researcher at VANK tells in the interview that they mobilize Korean students and travelers to promote Korea while they go on a trip abroad (see also Attias, 2012).

Turkayfe’s primary mission itself is contributing to nation brand of Turkey, especially with human side of the country. Public diplomacy is therefore in Turkayfe’s agenda while they prefer the term “social diplomacy” (Sevin and Salcıgil White, 2011: 85). Indeed, Co-founder of Turkayfe who is interviewed for this project is a public diplomacy specialist in Turkey. Before moving onto the Co-founder’s explanation of the Turkish coffee project, Turkayfe’s meaning should be noted. Turkayfe is a made up word based on two words: Turk, which means Turkish, and kahve (also pronounced as kayfe in the countryside), which can mean coffee but also means traditional coffeehouse (kahvehane) where people get together to meet and discuss various issues. Turkayfe is created as a “virtual international coffeehouse of Turkey” where social interactions functions of traditional coffeehouses restored and adapted to 21<sup>st</sup> century (Sevin and Salcıgil White, 2011: 87). Co-founder of Turkayfe explains their Turkish coffee project:

We made a coffee truck project. We bought a truck. We painted it with Turkey photos and got sponsorship from a famous Turkish coffee brand (names the brand). We traveled around American cities with this truck. From Washington to Boston we stopped in eight cities and distributed Turkish coffee. That is all what we did. We went to the shooting site of Today’s Show in New York, parked there and distributed coffee. In Washington, we went near Senate, and distributed coffee there. We went near World Bank, and distributed coffee. Furthermore, we arranged couple of seminars related to Turkish culture and Turkish coffee... After

that we wanted to keep going with the Turkish coffee project as we saw that coffee's influence was great. Our goal was to find a way to bring societies together. We wanted that Turkey reminds people of more things, not just one or two things. People should not just say there is Cappadocia in Turkey; they should see one or two more things. We wanted that they get to know about the influence of Turkey in their lives. Turkish coffee was not well known. I hope that we have contributed to promotion of Turkey even if it is very little.

TCF's all activities can be considered intentional contributions to Turkish public diplomacy as it works as literally a non-state cultural diplomacy organization. TCF does activities that any state's cultural center is supposed to do or is doing. TCF has online platforms to promote Turkish culture such as Turkish Culture Portal ([www.turkishculture.org](http://www.turkishculture.org)) introducing Turkish culture from various kinds of arts to carpets and from literature to philosophers; Turkish Music Portal ([www.turkishmusicportal.org](http://www.turkishmusicportal.org)) introducing history of Turkish music, instruments, musicians and samples and types of Turkish music; and Turkish Cuisine Portal ([www.turkish-cuisine.org](http://www.turkish-cuisine.org)) introducing "different aspects of Turkey's diverse culinary culture, including history, sociology, beliefs, ingredients, techniques and recipes" (TCF, 2015d). TCF's offline activities are equally or more noteworthy. Its Turkish Cultural Heritage project facilitated the establishment of YESAM Culinary Arts Center whose mission "is to research, document and revive the tangible and intangible culinary heritage and traditions created by the Turkish people over the centuries on the expansive geographies they inhabited" (TCF, 2015f); establishment of Cultural Heritage Preservation and Natural Dyes Laboratory DATU "to promote and preserve Turkey's cultural heritage by creating a scientific inventory of natural dyes" (TCF, 2015f); release of DVD called 'Turkish Traditional Shadow Theater: Karagöz;' publication of Dictionary of Turkish Music; and



supporting of Çatalhöyük Excavation, Iron Age Settlements Inventory of Turkey, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum Carpet Restoration Project and Anatolian Seljuk Monuments Inventory Project (TCF, 2015f). TCF's Culture and Education project covers Cultural Tours to Turkey which "highlight Turkey's tangible and intangible cultural heritage and promote Turkey as a cultural and educational travel destination" (TCF, 2015b); Spotlight on Turkey Educational Program<sup>35</sup> which –in partnership with the World Affairs Councils of America (WACA)- intensively gives an overview of Turkish and Anatolian history particularly to American teachers with a focus on Turkish culture; Lecture Series Project which hosts "scholars, experts and practitioners with the goal to increase public knowledge on Turkish culture" (TCF, 2015b); and TCF Cultural Exchange Fellowship which supports exchanges between Turkish and non-Turkish artists to help them participate in exhibitions, conferences and festivals (TCF, 2015b). Lastly, Sculpture Objects and Functional Art (SOFA) Fair promotes contemporary Turkish arts to American public (TCF, 2015c). All of these activities and other activities of TCF are concerned with the public diplomacy objective of promotion of a country to increase familiarity and appreciation and to cultivate better image and reputation.

In addition to Nittokai, there is also Turkish Cultural Center (<http://www.turkeycenter.co.jp/>), with a number of branches, in Japan. It is organizationally independent from Nittokai, but can be considered Nittokai's sister organization (interview, Nittokai Executive Director). They teach Turkish language, music instruments, cuisine and organize tea parties, dinners and cultural and educational trips to promote Turkey in Japan

---

<sup>35</sup> "As of 2014, 527 American teachers visited Turkey on the TCF Teacher Study Tours and nearly 2,500 teachers learned about Turkey at the Teacher Workshops" (TCF, 2015b).

(TACC, 2015). Similar to TCF, Turkish Cultural Center in Japan does activities that are considered duties of state's cultural centers or other official cultural diplomacy institutes. These activities can be considered direct and intentional contributions to Turkish public diplomacy.

### **5.4.3. Education and Creating Awareness**

Education is another important field where NGOs contribute to domestic sphere of public diplomacy. The NGOs analyzed for this research project educate domestic publics either for creating awareness for their causes, which may lead to intentional or unintentional public diplomacy outcomes, or for building their capacity to help the NGOs' causes which include the causes that contribute to public diplomacy outcomes.

In terms of education, ISR is particularly interested in development of sports in Korea. ISR's education activities aim to create awareness about Olympic Movement and sports development in Korea among the youth. As mentioned above, ISR also has an education program for retired medalist athletes to build their capacity. At the same time, they create an avenue for Korean sports leaders, administrators and diplomats to exchange information with their foreign colleagues. On education, Executive Director of ISR says:

We also wanted to help Korean young generation to be brought up with the wide understanding of sports diplomacy, right kind of training so that they can be brought out as important global human resources in the field of international sports relations. And as a part of mission of our institute, we conduct academy

every year to bring university students to learn and hear different lectures, seminars, workshops and so forth. I go around to different institutions and I give lectures about how Korea should participate in international sports to help utilize the sports resources for the right purposes... Yet the target for education is; not only the youth in Korea, but also the sports administrators and sports leaders, so that they can have a platform to get together, exchange information, exchange knowledge and also have the contact so that they can grow together. We also bring the young sports administrators from outside to engage with those students and leaders in Korea so that they can form a particular network where they work together and they have more opportunities and access.

MOFAS provides its members, who are diplomat spouses, with education and training programs that develop their capacity to promote Korea. According to General Affairs Manager of MOFAS, because they are “spouses of people who work for the country,” one of the founding principles of their organization was implementing various education programs for “doing activities better” and “improvement of Korea’s international position.” The education programs in turn empower MOFAS members to become more capable de-facto public diplomats that promote Korea overseas:

In order to develop our members’ ability to do activities when they go abroad, we organize culture education, Korea Studies education, museum education; we explore historic sites; study ceramics and furniture. Also we learn about food that we do not know very well as we cook a lot abroad. We also invite teachers for documental archaeology and take lessons in flower arrangement as we need to set the table. Furthermore, we do manner education. We do various kinds of intellectual education like this... When all ambassadors come to Korea in spring

for training, their spouses also come together with them. We do training programs for ambassadors' spouses at that time. We get requests from them as they may say 'while doing diplomacy abroad, this part was lacking' ... We have about seven lectures within two days and do outdoor activities too.

VANK has about 130,000 members. VANK'S Director says that they have been giving fourteen different "cyber diplomat education programs" to sharpen skills of its members to "systematically promote Korea." VANK's Cyber Diplomat Education program has twelve levels beginning with the collection of materials related to promotion of Korea (level 1), self-introduction and introducing Korea in English (level 2) and going towards planning a goal related to Korea (level 12) (VANK, 2015b). VANK's web sites also serve as platforms where members can share their promotion materials, goals; find mentors or partners to reach their goals based on the educational lead of VANK (VANK, 2015b).

VANK has recently done an exhibition, entitled "Nation Brand UP," that promotes the significance of public diplomacy, which Korean citizens can be part of, in cooperation with Korean state news agency Yonhap News (Wang, 2015a). In a detailed interview with Yonhap News during the opening ceremony, VANK's Director repeats VANK's vision to "make every Korean a diplomat and every young Korean a public diplomacy ambassador" (Wang, 2015b). The exhibition served two purposes. Firstly, more than 80 thousand people, including foreigners, visited the exhibition, which took place in Korea's largest museum - National Museum of Korea-, and got familiar with VANK's core idea that any Korean citizen can become a public diplomat. Indeed, 150 young VANK volunteers who proved successful in achieving their public diplomacy tasks were assigned –unofficial- "public diplomats" by VANK during the exhibition (Wang, 2015a). Secondly, the visitors learned about the ways

how public diplomacy can be done at a private capacity by exploring VANK's publications and talking to VANK staff and volunteers. Director of VANK is quoted to have said that they were planning to digitalize the contents of the exhibition to exhibit them on the internet (Wang, 2015a).

Furthermore, VANK has signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) agreement with The National Unification Advisory Council to teach ten thousand young Koreans for five years to become "Global Unified Korea Public Diplomacy Honorary Ambassadors" (Wang, 2014). Through this education, it is aimed that, Korean youth would be able to promote the importance of unification of two Koreas not only for peace in Korea, but also in Northeast Asia and in the world (Wang, 2014). VANK's Director believes in the potential of Korean youth who go to overseas every year for various reasons and who use SNS very actively and VANK tries to utilize this potential to promote Korea (Wang, 2014). Through offline and online education programs, Korean students are expected to volunteer to grow foreigners' interest in the Korean Unification issue through this education program.

HFA's Team Manager emphasizes that they regard education as the core of their activities. They are in a way sowing the seeds for future voluntary activities by creating awareness among the Korean youth. She explains:

By sending sneakers and books to Africa, Korean students learn why they need to do it and how difficult African kids live while they are well off... So for us Korean youth's education is number one priority. We do voluntary activities or UN training programs, but education is our priority.

KCOC provides its member NGOs with collective benefits such as information, training and other education platforms: "We develop capabilities of Korean NGOs that are engaged

in international cooperation activities. Furthermore, we support them designing their projects so that they can do better in the field.”

KOVA’s guiding principles are very solidly based on their identity of being former members of KOICA volunteer corps or World Friends Korea as it is known today. Therefore, creating awareness for voluntarism among Koreans, especially to help foreigners either within Korea or abroad, is one of the main pillars of KOVA’s activities. For that purpose, KOVA organizes education programs designed for its members to sharpen their skills and knowledge about development aid. Furthermore, KOVA also offers special lectures to foster understanding of ODA and international development cooperation among Korean public. KOVA Secretary General explains why they feel this is a responsibility:

We have been to overseas as volunteer corps with citizens’ tax money. So we play the role of returning our volunteer experiences and values to the society so that those experiences do not die and sowing the seeds. Because of the value of what we do, I feel proud that our job is more valuable compared to other NGOs.

JWF does not have a membership mechanism. However, as mentioned above, it is a focal organization in the network of Hizmet-inspired dialogue institutes which often do not have direct ties with each other. JWF organizes occasional “experience sharing workshops” for dialogue institutes facilitating training and learning from each other’s experiences (GYV, 2012; Kurucan, 2011). These workshops bring together similar dialogue centers and cultural centers from all over the world offline and online sharing their activities and best practices with each other. Furthermore, during the workshops, lectures are organized for effective dialogue techniques and universally accepted humanitarian values which enhance participants’ understanding of relationship management and dialogic approaches. Through

these workshops, participants also get to know each other to share information or make project-based partnerships without brokerage of JWF in the future just as Krebs and Holley (2002, 2006) suggest in their “network weaving” discussion.

Soka Gakkai as a faith-based organization puts much emphasis on education. Their education is mostly towards their members to create awareness among them and help their self-development. Director of SGI explains their education programs:

Soka Gakkai provides training and education to its members, who in turn use what they have gained to contribute to society. We encourage members to take initiative and participate in various peace-related activities and projects. The Soka Gakkai youth, for example, have organized Sino-Japanese youth exchanges, taking turns sponsoring Chinese youth in Japan and visiting them in China... The members’ strong awareness of social engagement is fostered through the study of Buddhist philosophy that focuses on self-development through positive inner reformation and dedication to the welfare of others. For example, on a regular basis, members—centering on youth—are involved in preparing and planning for meetings and events that are rooted in the local community. Volunteer activities not only nurture the spirit of serving others but also develop leadership qualities. It can be said that these tasks provide members with practical training and education as well as spiritual inspiration.

AAR organizes various events and lectures to raise public awareness on philanthropy. It aims “to raise the interest of wider population in international issues” through these activities (AAR Japan, 2015b). The events include report meetings, workshops, concerts and lectures to students or other groups of people (AAR Japan, 2015b). Furthermore, Program Manager

says that AAR encourages its staff “to participate in various training programs which are conducive to upgrading individual knowledge and skill.”

#### **5.4.4. Mobilization**

NGOs’ another significant contribution to public diplomacy of their home countries is their mobilization capacity. People can be attracted by certain NGOs to divert their financial resources, abilities and/or time for the causes of these NGOs. In other words, NGOs can create extra human, financial and social capital for a certain cause which can be one that contributes to public diplomacy objectives (and outcomes) of its home country. NGOs find the ways to attract enthusiasts who may be willing to contribute to the activities of the NGO. Such an “open-source” approach that mobilizes enthusiasts’ contributions based on their interest as opposed to other material benefits is used by many NGOs with success and long durability (Fisher, 2008: 15). It is important to note that these people’s potential, if not attracted or mobilized by certain NGOs, might have been unrealized or wasted.

VANK is a typical example for mobilizing the enthusiasts to help particularly the promotion of Korea and correcting misinformation about Korea. Its members are generally young Koreans who are active and interested in making foreign friends. In VANK Director’s words, “Koreans have very strong pride, they are very proud of their country.” Furthermore, Koreans are regarded as one of the most wired nations in the world with high literacy and active usage rates of the Internet and SNS. This potential needs to be channeled to be effectively utilized; and that is what VANK has been doing:



All of VANK's messages are for the country, but we do it together with the youth. The reason is not because of the concept of 'state' but rather the youth wants to interact and share with lots of foreigners all over the world. They want these foreigners to have a good feeling about Korea and learn about their country too. We had that kind of mind before anyone else. I think it was because of these that Korean youth joined VANK. Correcting textbooks or promoting Korea was done with this mindset and beginning this through foreign penpal friends was valuable itself. Otherwise correcting textbooks or promoting Korea are already done by government institutions, however people do not gather there. Therefore, the reason why VANK and its reputation grew so much is because youth and university students wanted to interact with foreigners in their mind.

KCOC and its member organizations, including KOVA, also generate extra human, financial and human capital by mobilizing volunteers and donors. In KOVA's case, members (former volunteer corps) are people who have been already mobilized for voluntary activities. KOVA's aim is to maintain its members' willingness to volunteer and to mobilize them for creating extra resources both by creating awareness in the society and also by donating and volunteering themselves. Therefore, both KCOC and KOVA are platforms to direct people with potential towards voluntary activities. In turn, their voluntary activities might bear intentional or unintentional outcomes for public diplomacy objectives. KCOC's Secretary General talks about the power of NGOs and the need for KOICA to cooperate with NGOs since they can mobilize extra resources:

We did a research and found out that the amount we receive from KOICA's ODA budget is less than 5% of the total budget of our private cooperation projects. We raise funds from citizens directly and we go overseas directly. So, because NGO's

power is this large, it is a fact that KOICA has to cooperate.

Other development NGOs and charities also build on the extra resources that they generate. Particularly, faith-inspired development NGOs seem to use religious references to mobilize people for volunteering and donation. On the question of what motivates their activities, DF's PR Coordinator talked about the examples from Ottoman history which is a reference point and a mobilizing factor also for many other Turkish NGOs, especially faith-inspired development NGOs:

Our motivating factors are our humanitarian values, our cultural accumulation and religious resources. All of these value human dignity and emphasize the importance of helping the needy people. Our ancestor in Ottomans founded associations that cure storks whose wings are injured. They founded vakifs (foundations) to compensate for the plates a servant breaks at a mansion. They made bird houses for the birds. They founded vakifs (foundations) to leave food and meat in the forest for wild animals during harsh winters. Our strongest motivations are these fine humanitarian examples and data right next to us.

MOFAS members would probably do similar activities even if there was no such organization. However, MOFAS' existence provides its members with provision of common goods such as training programs, logistics and also collective spirit that motivates them to contribute more. As diplomat spouses and proud Koreans, they have an identity-based narrative to do their activities. One of the Assistant Managers of MOFAS explains how they are motivated to do activities that can be regarded as part of public diplomacy:

Diplomat spouses traditionally play many roles, but they are "community service officers" when they go to other countries. Regardless of whether they are

officially appointed by their country or not, they harmonize with the public in the countries or regions they go and they share our countries' things with them and make friendships with them; so, in a way acting like "community service officers." I like this term a lot. If you want to be a community service officer what should you do? You should prepare a lot before you go abroad and study about things related to our country. You want to be equipped with anything that would help our country there even a little bit. Without such sense of duty, you cannot do this.

Influenced by an earlier Turkish scholar, JWF's Honorary President Gülen suggested that three major problems in the society are "ignorance, poverty, and internal schism" (Fgulen.com, 2011) and suggested education to fight ignorance; solidarity and charity to fight poverty; and dialogue to fight prejudices or internal schisms. His ideas are put into practice by those who are inspired by these ideas. 2000 schools which are "grounded in modern science, strong morality and practical altruism" (Ebaugh and Koç, 2007: 542) in about 170 countries (interview, JWF Vice President), Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), Kimse Yok Mu humanitarian aid and development organization and dialogue centers in more than a hundred countries (interview, JWF Vice President) are founded to contribute to solution of these three major problems. Vice President likens JWF's Honorary President Gülen's inspiration in mobilizing people to do good works to a crystallization process:

Being able to mobilize people is a very important capability. I sometimes use the example of crystallization process. You put sugar more and more and mix it for some time, but you do not see anything from outside. When cooling it you put a drop of crystal into it and the mix crystalizes. What our foundation does is similar, putting the mere one drop of crystal. There is already goodness inside the people

and it gets crystalized when you put the one drop of crystal in it. Gülen has mobilized people very well by encouraging people, who have goodness in themselves, to do good works. He suggested education as a solution to ignorance, people founded schools; he suggested dialogue, and people founded dialogue organizations all over the world in about 101 countries now.

## **5.5. Summary of the Case Study**

Collaborative public diplomacy					
	Issues Themes	State's weaknesses	NGOs' advantages	Related NGOs	
Relational dimension	Relationship-building	Lack of long-term vision Public skepticism Maintenance costs Symbolic relationships	Long-term vision Neutrality Credibility Behavioral relationships	KOVA, MOFAS, VANK (members dimension), HFA (universal values), ISR (universal values), FEC, SGI (if no propagation of religion), NPO1, Nittokai, JWF	
	Mutuality & symmetrical	Asymmetrical Self-interests	Symmetrical Mutual interests	MOFAS, VANK (World Changer), FEC, SGI (if no propagation of religion), NPO1, Nittokai, JWF, Turkayfe (online platform)	
	Credibility	Public skepticism Self-interests Limited social capital	Neutrality/ universality Credibility Social capital	KCOC (members), KOVA (members), MOFAS (members), FEC (members)	
Network dimension	Reach	Limited reach Limited resources/ knowledge	Bridging Spanning structural (or cultural) holes	ISR, MOFAS, FEC, SGI, NPO1, Nittokai, JWF, TCF	
	Resources	Limited resources Bureaucracy	Expertise Flexibility and above advantages	All NGOs in the study	

**Table 5:** Identifying selected NGOs for collaborative public diplomacy

## 6. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

NGOs' activities that can be considered in the realm of public diplomacy remain under-researched. Prominent public diplomacy scholars touched upon NGOs' engagement in public diplomacy, but little empirical research has been done about NGO representatives' reflections on public diplomacy.<sup>36</sup>

The most important contribution of this research project to the study of public diplomacy is the development of an analytical framework to study NGOs' importance to and potential in public diplomacy. This research project, first incorporated non-state actors into public diplomacy analysis to point out their relevance to different dimensions, communication frameworks, objectives and instruments of public diplomacy. Furthermore, building on this discussion, the analytical framework for relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy was developed to analyze NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy particularly in the long-term where NGOs are the most relevant. The framework built for this research can be used as an analytical tool in further research on non-state public diplomacy. It can be used to study other NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy, but also it can be modified to study other non-state actors' engagement in public diplomacy including influential individuals, universities, intergovernmental organizations and MNCs. The empirical data and its analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 substantiate the analytical framework

---

<sup>36</sup> See Olga Zatepilina's work (Zatepilina, 2009, 2010; Zatepilina-Monacell, 2012) for a good and rare exploration of NGOs' engagement in public diplomacy. See also (Trent, 2012b) for a presentation of perspectives of various stakeholders on U.S.'s public diplomacy towards Lebanon and a strong case for collaborative policy network that include also non-state actors, particularly diaspora communities.

established in Chapter 3.

In this study, NGOs' activities are categorized and outlined based on relational, networked and collaborative dimensions of public diplomacy. Possibilities of collaboration between state agencies and NGOs in the field of public diplomacy are explored based on relational and network dimensions. Collaboration is also analyzed with a typology based on two dimensions which are whose initiative for which collaboration take place and who proposes collaboration in the first place. This typology brings new insight into government-NGO collaboration in the field of public diplomacy which was often analyzed in a state-centric manner.

Furthermore, this study provided the public diplomacy research with an in-depth exploration of NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy and reflecting NGO representatives' interpretations of their activities in relation to public diplomacy and their perspectives on collaboration with state agencies. This research project contributes empirical evidence which in turn leads to "greater insights based on cumulative knowledge" in the area of non-state public diplomacy (Yin, 2011: 296-297). This data can be used to advance "cumulative knowledge" with further research.

In his research that reflected practitioners' understanding of public diplomacy practice, Sevin (2014: 240) argued that a complete analysis of public diplomacy requires the perspectives of the practitioners and their take on the practice. Likewise, this research project complements public diplomacy research with NGOs' practice and NGO representatives' views about their activities in relation to public diplomacy.

In addition to these contributions, the following propositions are strengthened by the

discussions in the case study: (1) this dissertation is one of the initial steps towards better understanding of NGOs as actors, contractors and contributors in public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is conceptualized to include non-state actors as public diplomacy actors in their own right. Furthermore, this research project distinguished and analyzed unintentional, as well as intentional, contributions of NGOs to public diplomacy of their home countries even if they do not have public diplomacy agenda. NGOs' voluntary contributions to their home countries' public diplomacy objectives are noted based mostly on the participants' perspectives and reflections. (2) From a relational public diplomacy approach, the study showed NGOs' potential capabilities that include sustainable relationship-building and management, symmetrical and dialogic communication with their stakeholders whom they have rather equal footing with. The empirical data also showed that not all NGOs are capable in relationship-building and symmetrical communication. (3) Importance of collaboration with NGOs that have credibility in the relevant network is discussed to facilitate communication and relationship management when credibility is the greatest obstacle to reach out to the certain publics. (4) Importance of actors with greater bridging social capital is discussed to facilitate connection, communication and relationship management when reach is the greatest obstacle to conduct effective public diplomacy in some areas (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 393). (5) All of these discussions led to the final argument that state-centric public diplomacy is not enough for effective public diplomacy. In order to make up for its insufficiencies, state agencies need to collaborate with or outsource to the NGOs that are already doing or has potential to do effective activities in line with public diplomacy objectives of the state agencies.

### **Activities of Selected NGOs in the Realm of Public Diplomacy and**



## **Comparisons between Development NGOs and Advocacy NGOs**

This part serves the purpose of summarizing and presenting the findings of the analysis in Chapter 5. The activities of selected NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy can be categorized into four. These four types of NGOs are grouped with regards to the relevance of their activities to public diplomacy: promotional advocacy NGOs, intellectual advocacy NGOs, contractor development NGOs and development NGOs (see table 6).

Firstly, some NGOs' most objectives and activities overlap with public diplomacy objectives that are discussed in Chapter 3. They are named promotional advocacy NGOs since their main purposes include promotion of certain values, cultures and other aspects of a country (or a movement). VANK, MOFAS, Turkeyfe, TCF and ISR are examples of such NGOs. These NGOs have their own public diplomacy agendas even if they may call it something else. For example, 'public diplomacy' may not be the term MOFAS spells as its objective; nevertheless, the essence of their agenda and their practices overlap with the goals of public diplomacy. Therefore, it is not wrong to say that MOFAS has its own public diplomacy agenda.

While these promotional advocacy NGOs do their activities, they also aim to contribute to their countries (or a movement) together with their other organizational objectives. These NGOs (except for ISR) contribute to their countries' public diplomacy objectives through cultivating and influencing public opinion abroad (e.g. MOFAS' engagement with foreign diplomat spouses); increasing familiarity and cultivating better images and reputation of their country (e.g. Turkeyfe's Turkish coffee truck project; VANK's members' active promotion

of Korea online and offline); and fostering dialogue and mutual understanding for more harmonious relations between their countries and the countries they operate (e.g. MOFAS' intercultural activities). ISR stands out from others as its public diplomacy agenda's main purpose is to serve Olympic Movement's interests more than that of Korea. Therefore, their contribution to Korean public diplomacy is rather unintentional. However, ISR still can be regarded as a promotional advocacy NGO which promotes the Olympic Movement.

Secondly, some NGOs' only certain objectives and activities can be regarded in the realm of public diplomacy. These NGOs are named intellectual advocacy NGOs, because of their emphasis on intellectual exchanges between opinion leaders. FEC, SGI, NPO1, Nittokai and JWF are examples of such NGOs. MOFAS and ISR too have some elements that make these NGOs closer to intellectual advocacy NGOs since the boundaries between promotional and intellectual advocacy NGOs are not that clear-cut. These intellectual advocacy NGOs' agenda may be different than public diplomacy, but their certain objectives and activities coincide with public diplomacy objectives and activities. The common denominator of these five NGOs' is their intellectual exchanges (such as forums, exchange of opinion leader delegations) that concentrate on mutual understanding and creating harmony for peaceful coexistence. These NGOs serve as platforms for what Kim Taehwan (Hwang et al., 2013; Kim, 2015, 2014, 2011, 2012b, 2012a) calls "knowledge diplomacy" (지식외교 or 포럼외교 (forum diplomacy)) which is a branch of public diplomacy. These NGOs do not organize such events to propagate their values, but rather to exchange views with opinion leaders of different backgrounds based on shared interests for common goals (Hwang et al., 2013: 41; Kim, 2012a: 13).

Intellectual advocacy NGOs' contribution to their countries' public diplomacy objectives are through cultivating and influencing public opinion abroad (e.g. NPO1's intellectual forums with Chinese or Korean intellectuals); increasing familiarity and cultivating better images and reputation of their country (e.g. Nittokai's Turkey trips for Japanese intellectuals); fostering dialogue and mutual understanding for more harmonious relations between their countries and the countries they operate (e.g. FEC's delegations to other countries); and pursuing peace and harmony beyond national interests through universal values (e.g. JWF's intercultural dialogue activities). More than anything else, these intellectual advocacy NGOs (and MOFAS and ISR which share some features with intellectual advocacy NGOs) serve almost all public diplomacy objectives of their home countries by building relations with influential elite foreigners. They build trust with these multipliers and have potential networking capacity, a bridging role, between these elites and their contacts at home including the state agencies.

Thirdly, some NGOs act as contractors for state agencies' public diplomacy activities. The NGOs are named contractor development NGOs because of their contractor relationship with state-centric public diplomacy programs. This categorization based on the data, is also found in the literature. Korten makes a distinction between "voluntary organizations" (VOs) and "public service contractors" (PSCs), which aims to obtain funding allocated for ODA (Korten, 1990: 103 quoted in Attack, 1999: 857). Korten (1990: 103 quoted in Attack, 1999: 857) argues that "when donors talk about engaging NGOs as implement[e]rs of donor projects, they are usually looking for a PSC rather than a VO." KCOC and KOVA are examples of such NGOs. These organizations' main objectives are different than public diplomacy, however they act as contractors for public diplomacy objectives of state agencies,

in Korea's case especially KOICA. Their public diplomacy activities are programmed to fit state agencies' framework and policies for related public diplomacy activities. They help reinforcing Korea's other foreign policy objectives by being part of official public diplomacy policies (e.g. KCOC and KOVA's contribution to World Friends Korea).

Both organizations keep intimate relations with KOICA and work as its contractor for World Friends Korea project that is Korea's volunteer corps. While maintaining their identity and serving their constituents, these NGOs concentrate their efforts on their shared interests with KOICA to produce more outcomes of their collaborative relationships. They are wary of going different directions with KOICA or other state organizations because of their "interdependence" (Saidel, 1991) with KOICA. Relatively, such interdependence is not the case for other NGOs.

Fourthly, some NGOs do not have public diplomacy objectives, but their activities may create unintentional outcomes that contribute to public diplomacy objectives of their home countries. These organizations are all development organizations selected for this study. HFA (humanitarian aid activities), KOVA, KCOC member organizations, to a certain extent ISR (humanitarian aid activities), AAR and DF are examples of such organizations. These organizations' common denominator is their humanitarian aid and relief activities which do not aim public diplomacy outcomes, however may contribute to public diplomacy objectives as byproducts of their main activities.

These NGOs' contribution to public diplomacy of their countries is through increasing familiarity and appreciation of their home countries and through contributing to personal safety of their citizens in the countries they operate. There was near-consensus among participants from these NGOs that even if they do not promote their home country through

their activities abroad, people would recognize their national identity more than their organizational identity. In turn, people's familiarity and appreciation increase for their home country. These results are in line with the findings of Zatepilina whose research revealed U.S. NGO representatives' perspectives on their contributions to U.S.'s reputation and image abroad (Zatepilina, 2009, 2010; Zatepilina-Monacell, 2012, 2015).

Development NGOs	Advocacy NGOs	
KCOC, KOVA, HFA, AAR, DF	Promotional Advocacy NGOs	Intellectual Advocacy NGOs
Contractor Development NGOs	VANK, MOFAS <sup>37</sup> , Turkeyfe, TCF	FEC, SGI, NPO1, JWF, Nittokai
KCOC, KOVA	ISR <sup>38</sup>	

**Table 6:** Categorization of selected NGOs based on the findings.

Furthermore, it was found that some NGOs also indirectly contribute to public diplomacy outcomes through education and mobilization of activists and/or general public. As discussed in the third section of Chapter 5, some NGOs train their members to develop their capacities to be more effective practitioners while also some NGOs educate general public to create awareness. Particularly calling attention are VANK, MOFAS and JWF's training programs. These three programs aim to sharpen skills of their members (VANK and MOFAS) or sister organizations (JWF) which in turn make them more effective contributors to public

---

<sup>37</sup> MOFAS' purposes and activities are closer to promotional advocacy NGOs, but some of its approaches are also similar to that of intellectual advocacy NGOs.

<sup>38</sup> ISR is a promotional advocacy NGO, but as stated above it stands out since its main purpose is not promoting its home country, but rather values of Olympic Movement.

diplomacy. VANK and MOFAS' training programs make their members more capable of promoting Korea's culture, history and cuisine to foreigners. JWF's experience sharing workshops bring together similar dialogue institutes from all over the world sharing their activities and best practices with each other. Through such training programs, these NGOs equip their members (or sister organizations) with better capacity to practice what can be regarded people-to-people diplomacy in the field. Other NGOs' (KCOC, KOVA, ISR, HFA and SGI) educational activities create awareness for the NGOs' causes which indirectly contribute to public diplomacy of their countries.

NGOs mobilize people and financial resources for their causes which contribute to public diplomacy of their home countries. It is rather more difficult for state agencies to mobilize people for voluntary activities or for giving charity. State agencies often rely on paid manpower, taxes and budgets for their public diplomacy projects, while NGOs attract enthusiastic volunteers, donors and sponsors and generate extra human and financial resources for their activities.

Especially, development NGOs heavily depend on volunteers and donations. Therefore, mobilization of people and financial resources are their primary lifelines. Almost all NGO participants talked about their mobilization efforts for their activities. Mobilization is what makes these nonprofit organizations sustain without considerable income. Furthermore, NGOs generate public goods including their public diplomacy outcomes through mobilization and these efforts are their value-added contribution to the society.

On the question of what motivates or guides the NGOs for doing their activities that intentionally or unintentionally contribute to public diplomacy of their home countries (see Table 7), development NGOs (KCOC, KOVA, HFA, AAR and DF) emphasized voluntarism

and sharing their experiences and resources with the needy people. Some participants also talked about the role of faith in motivating faith-inspired NGOs and their constituents to volunteer for these activities. While faith-inspired development NGOs (KCOC member NGOs and DF) help the needy people based on the teachings of their faith, secular development NGOs (HFA, KOVA and AAR) do similar activities without the motivation of faith.

Promotional advocacy NGOs (except for ISR) selected for this research, that are TCF, MOFAS, VANK and Turkayfe, try to promote their countries to foreigners, and their main motivation is patriotism and their interest in national pride.<sup>39</sup> They feel that they have a stake in their country's image and reputation, and take responsibility to inform foreigners about their countries, reduce misperceptions and cultivate a better image of their country. In the case of ISR, its motivation and principles are guided by Olympic sports values. ISR aims to promote these values in Korea to help sports development in the country based on Olympic Movement.

The intellectual advocacy NGOs are motivated to foster dialogue and mutual understanding between people from different backgrounds through intellectual activities. Table 8 identifies which public diplomacy objectives can be achieved through activities of different categories of NGOs based on the findings in this case study.

---

<sup>39</sup> Turkayfe's Co-founder notes that their patriotism is based on their love of the country as they wanted to introduce Turkey to others. However, their patriotism is not based on the idea of "our country is the best," and they freely criticize their country and discuss about its mistakes openly.

Development NGOs	Advocacy NGOs	
Voluntarism and sharing experiences and resources with the needy	Promotional Advocacy NGOs	Intellectual Advocacy NGOs
	Patriotism, national pride	Dialogue and mutual understanding

**Table 7:** Motivations of selected NGOs



Public Diplomacy objectives	Promotional Advocacy NGOs	Intellectual Advocacy NGOs	Development NGOs	Contractor Development NGOs
Cultivation of public opinion to influence foreign policy decisions of governments; agenda-setting and mobilization of people and actions for a cause	e.g. MOFAS' engagement with foreign diplomat spouses	e.g. NPO1's intellectual forums with Chinese or Korean intellectuals		
Reinforcing other foreign policy objectives				e.g. KCOC and KOVA's contribution to World Friends Korea
Increasing familiarity and cultivating better image and reputation	e.g., VANK's members' active promotion of Korea online and offline	e.g. Nittokai's Turkey trips for Japanese intellectuals	All development NGOs' humanitarian activities lead to appreciation of their home countries	All development NGOs' humanitarian activities lead to appreciation of their home countries
Building relationships with foreign publics and opinion leaders to foster dialogue and mutual understanding	e.g. MOFAS' intercultural activities	e.g. FEC's delegations to other countries		
Pursuing peace and harmony beyond national interests through universal values		e.g. JWF's interfaith dialogue activities	Humanitarian activities of all development NGOs	Humanitarian activities of all development NGOs

**Table 8:** Selected NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy objectives

### **6.1.1. Comparisons between Faith-inspired NGOs and Secular NGOs**

As mentioned before, analyzing the differences between faith-inspired NGOs and secular NGOs was not one of the initial aims of this research project. Based on the analysis of interview transcripts, it is found out that there were couple of references to faith by some participants and I decided to analyze the differences between faith-inspired and secular NGOs. It should be reiterated that the difference between religious NGOs that operate to propagate their religion and faith-inspired NGOs which derive their inspiration from faith but whose activities are not necessarily religious. Out of 15 selected NGOs, only SGI can be regarded as a religious NGO while it is also considered a faith-inspired NGO since the latter term is more inclusive.

According to the data, faith-inspired development NGOs (KCOC member organizations and DF) and secular development NGOs (HFA, KOVA, AAR and ISR—its development aid-) do similar activities with similar main motivations (i.e. voluntarism and sharing their experiences and resources). Furthermore, faith-inspired intellectual advocacy NGOs' motivation and activities (SGI, JWF and Nittokai) do not stand out from that of secular intellectual advocacy NGOs (NPO1 and FEC). These intellectual advocacy NGOs, regardless of the influence of faith, aim primarily to foster dialogue among people of different backgrounds or different perspectives and overcome prejudices if they exist. The extra motivation faith-inspired advocacy organizations have could be their interest in increasing mutual understanding also between people of different faiths, namely interfaith

dialogue activities.<sup>40</sup> All of the promotional advocacy NGOs (MOFAS, VANK, Turkeyfe, TCF and ISR) are secular NGOs; so their activities could not be compared. However, considering the activities of Nittokai's sister organization Turkish Cultural Center and SGI's affiliated organization Min-on, it can be said that there are also no visible differences between secular promotional advocacy NGOs and faith-inspired promotional advocacy NGOs.

Overall, based on the data collected for this research project, it is safe to say that there is not much observable difference between the activities of secular and faith-inspired organizations operating in similar realms other than that faith may provide extra motivation to volunteer, donate and act. This result is consistent with Davis et al.'s study (Davis et al., 2011) which also did not find significant difference between faith-inspired and secular NGOs' aims and activities (see also Ferris, 2005; Thaut, 2009). Therefore, faith-inspired NGOs' and secular NGOs' relevance to public diplomacy are also not much different. SGI which can be regarded also a religious NGO might stand out from other intellectual advocacy NGOs as it is also concerned with 'promulgation of Buddhism' as well as other activities. However, such differences could not be confirmed in this study and require more in-depth analysis.

In the case of religious NGOs, especially aggressive ones, there is significant difference between them and secular NGOs as the former is highly likely to jeopardize public diplomacy objectives, reputation and image of a country and/or an organization while propagating its religion (see e.g. Ferris, 2005: 324). On the contrary, some religious NGOs may be more welcomed in certain fields as in the case of Korean Buddhist NGOs' operations in Buddhist towns in Southeast Asia where Korean monks are respected and seen more

---

<sup>40</sup> See (Yasmeen, 2008; Kayaoglu, 2015) for importance of interfaith dialogue and its relevance to diplomacy, for that matter public diplomacy.

credible as stated by Secretary General of KCOC above.

### **6.1.2. Cross-country Comparisons of NGOs**

This research project is designed to explore NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy. NGO activities are analyzed based on relational, networked and collaborative dimensions of public diplomacy. The main purposes of this dissertation are achieved by exploration of the research questions which are why and how NGOs do –or contribute to– public diplomacy and why and how collaboration takes place between state agencies and NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy. The analysis resulted in greater understanding of non-state public diplomacy. This section's aim is to compare the three countries, as the legal and/or cultural contexts of these NGOs, based on the empirical data rather than going through a detailed analysis since cross-country comparison is not the main concern of this research project. The patterns found in the empirical data are presented to stimulate interest for future research on comparative non-state public diplomacy.

In this research project, the most significant differences are found between development and advocacy NGOs as expected. There are more similarities than differences between similar type faith-inspired and secular NGOs and also among Korean, Japanese and Turkish NGOs as far as their relevance to public diplomacy is concerned. These similarities were expected since the dissertation aimed literal replication (Yin, 2009: 38-9) and selected NGOs and countries purposefully. Faith-inspired NGOs which are not necessarily religious NGOs were selected to control the impact of religion as much as possible. Furthermore, the three

countries which share a lot in common were selected for predicted similar results.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Japan, Korea and Turkey share the following properties: being members of OECD and G20; being democracies; having population of more than 49 million; being non-Western countries (Huntington, 1993a); being high-context cultures (Hall and Hall, 1987; Copeland, 1985). having GDP (PPP) of more than \$1.4 trillion (World Bank, 2013b) and GDP (PPP) per capita of more than \$18,000 (World Bank, 2013a); being market economies but not “liberal market economies” (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 19-21); and having statist model of nonprofit sector meaning that both government social welfare spending and nonprofit scale are low in these three countries (OECD, 2014b; Şahin and Öztürk, 2008: 22; Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Choi, 2011). For so much these three countries have in common, it was predicted that the countries, as contexts, would not show much different trends that affect NGOs’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy. These similarities justified the aggregation of the data for all NGOs when doing the cross-case analysis.

One of the important findings in the empirical data gathered for this research is that there were almost no cases of active collaboration or active contractor where state agencies propose partnership to NGOs in the first place. This result was almost the same in all three countries, except for Korea which had some instances (occasional instances for VANK, and one rare instance for HFA). It can be explained with the general trend that this is the case everywhere else in the world as Sen and Davala argue (2002: 39). Alternatively, it can be speculated that state-centric approaches (Zaharna, 2012a) or statist model (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) of these three countries had an impact on this result. This speculation requires further research and comparison with liberal, corporatist, and social democratic countries (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) as legal and/or cultural contexts of NGOs.

While all three countries selected for this research are generally considered statist, there are differences between them when it comes to government-nonprofit relations. Since this research project is concerned with collaboration between state agencies and NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy, two kinds of state agencies that are relevant to public diplomacy from three countries are analyzed below. The organizations' mechanisms for collaboration with the NGOs are compared. First kind of state agencies are official international cooperation agencies of Korea, Japan and Turkey which are KOICA, JICA and TIKKA respectively. Second kind of state agencies are the most active public diplomacy departments in these three countries which are Korea Foundation (KF) in Korea, Japan Foundation (JF) in Japan and Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy (KDK) in Turkey.

Apparently, in all three countries, there is no single coordinating department for public diplomacy activities and in turn many different state agencies are involved in activities that can be considered in the realm of public diplomacy. For example, there is Cultural Affairs Bureau and Public Diplomacy Division under Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are also Korean Cultural Centers under Korean Culture and Information Service within the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The latter has cultural centers in many countries which are very significant for Korea's public diplomacy. KF is chosen since it is more comprehensive in terms of public diplomacy, not limited to cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, KF acts like a hub for PPP initiatives in the realm of public diplomacy. In Turkey, a recent development in public diplomacy is the foundation and growth of Yunus Emre Institutes (YEE). Its activities are similar to Korean Cultural Centers, or other cultural centers for that matter, however it is officially an NGO even though it is inseparable from a government organization. YEE is somewhere between a state agency and an NGO, rather a government-

organized NGO (GONGO), in terms of its funding and its board of trustees which has many ministers of the Turkish government and officially led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, KDK is chosen since it is supposed to be the control tower of public diplomacy efforts of the Turkish government; but YEE's data is looked at too. Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) have Public Diplomacy Strategy Division, Cultural Affairs and Overseas Public Relations Division and couple of other related divisions under Minister's Secretariat; but the MOFA's website declares that MOFA does its public diplomacy activities "in cooperation with Japan Foundation" (Japanese MOFA, 2015). Indeed, JF is considered "the flagship institution for Japanese public diplomacy" (Ogawa, 2013: 118).

Comparing the two kinds of state agencies, Korean and Japanese organizations seem to be more open to collaboration with NGOs compared to Turkish organizations. Korean and Japanese organizations explain the available frameworks for collaboration with NGOs on their websites more clearly and transparently while it is difficult to say the same for Turkish organizations. The most comprehensive research on Turkish civil society is conducted by TÜSEV (Third Sector Foundation of Turkey) with support from the EU for more than ten years. TÜSEV's recent report points out that despite EU's requirements for well-established government-civil society collaboration for candidate countries, Turkey still lacks "equitable, transparent and open" legal framework for such collaboration (Ekmekçi et al., 2014: 44-47). On the other hand, Korean organizations have the clearest and most transparent frameworks for NGO support among the three countries.

KF's both Korean and English websites have a section for "Support for Diplomatic NGOs" (Korea Foundation, 2015e) (민간단체지원 (Korea Foundation, 2015c)). The Korean

webpage is more detailed and it explains who can apply for the support, what kind of projects are applicable to receive support, the details of the kind of support, application deadlines, online application portal, screening standards and the contact details to ask questions (Korea Foundation, 2015c). KF runs another platform for “diplomatic NGOs” called “Diplomatic NGO Community” (Korea Foundation, 2014). That community portal has a section for NGOs to apply to become a designated NGO to receive funds from the KF (Korea Foundation, 2015b). The portal also leads to the webpage of National Council of NPO Korea which is an association of NGOs that aims to empower NGOs including the ‘diplomatic NGOs’ (NCNK, 2015).

KF supports NGO activities since 2007 and it increased the range of support since 2013 (Korea Foundation, 2015a). NGOs are asked to apply for funds for their programs including commemorative events, follow up events after summits or other high-level diplomatic meetings, events that aim to contribute to regional harmony and peace and exchange activities related to next generation leaders (Korea Foundation, 2015a). KF support covers basic costs of NGOs’ activities including plane tickets, living expenses of foreign guests, costs of venue and transportation and printing costs (Korea Foundation, 2015a). For an international conference, the support may be up to 40 million won, which is almost \$35,000 (Korea Foundation, 2015a). KF’s yearly budget to support NGOs is about \$2,350,000 (KF, personal communication, 21 December 2015).

When it comes to development cooperation, KOICA offers support for NGO activities. KOICA’s website explains its schemes to support civil society organizations including NGOs, universities and research institutes (KOICA, 2015b). CPP is KOICA’s partnership program with civil society organizations. KOICA provides funds up to 80% of total costs of



the project, up to about \$350,000 for each project under CPP (KOICA, 2015b). In addition, NGOs can also apply for Innovative Partnership Program and Capacity Building Program (KOICA, 2015b). In year 2014, KOICA funded 202 NGO projects in 35 countries amounting to slightly more than \$28 million (KOICA, 2015a). Details of every project of KOICA and the projects it funded (1991-2014) can be found, filtered and downloaded from KOICA's database system (KOICA, 2015c).

JF's both Japanese and English websites also have detailed information on the application procedures for JF grants (Japan Foundation, 2015e, 2015d). NGOs are invited to apply to JF for collaboration on programs related to four main areas which are "arts and cultural exchange," "Japanese studies and intellectual exchange," "Japanese language education overseas," and "strengthening cultural exchange in Asia" (Japan Foundation, 2015c). In its 43 page-long booklet for grant program guidelines, JF gives a very detailed account of grant programs it is going to fund under four areas stated above (Japan Foundation, 2015b). Benefits for each grant program differs, but in general JF's support is similar to KF's as it usually provides domestic and international travel expenses, accommodation expenses, costs of venue use and equipment loan, costs of translation, honoraria for lecturers and expenses for preparation materials (Japan Foundation, 2015b). In the same booklet, it is stated that events that commemorate exchange years are given "higher priority" in the process of screening (Japan Foundation, 2015b: 3). JF has detailed annual reports including financial statements every year available on its website, however these reports do not clearly state the exact budget JF has to fund NGO projects (Japan Foundation, 2015a). Indeed, when inquired about that budget, I was told that JF does "not collect statistics on budget focused on NGOs" (JF, personal communication, 24 December 2015).

JICA too has programs to support NGO initiatives in the field of development cooperation. JICA Partnership Program (JPP) is designed to support international cooperation projects of NGOs, universities, private companies and others in developing countries (JICA, 2014: 112; 2015a). According to 2014 annual report, in 2013 JICA supported 250 JPP initiatives in more than 45 countries (JICA, 2014: 112), but it is not clear how many of them are NGO projects. For each project, JICA can support up to 100 million Yen which is about \$825,000 (JICA, 2015b). Furthermore, there are NGO-JICA Japan Desks in 20 countries that provide consultation and information to NGOs on “local laws, local systems, the social situation, and the state of local NGO activities,” contributing to better implementation of JPP projects (JICA, 2014: 112; 2015c). Furthermore, JICA has a program called “support for capacity building” which provides NGOs with training for human resources development, advisors with special expertise, and “training for quick response to regional NGO-specific issues” (JICA, 2014: 112; 2015d, 2015e). Lastly, JICA operates “Donation Fund for the People of the World” for which it receives donations from citizens and corporations to support NGOs’ international cooperation activities (JICA, 2014: 112). JICA’s yearly budget to support NGOs is also not clear on its Japanese and English websites and annual reports. However, I asked JICA about their budget for NGOs and I was told that it was about \$17,233,000 (JICA, personal communication, 13 January 2016).

In Turkey’s case, the picture is very different. KDK, which is supposed to be the control tower of Turkish public diplomacy, has no framework of collaboration with NGOs. There is no mention of collaborative initiatives or the ways that NGOs can apply for KDK’s support on its website. Even though Yunus Emre Institutes (YEE) are officially an NGO -or rather a GONGO-, it is regarded and treated as Turkey’s official cultural centers. In order to make

sure whether they have a mechanism for collaboration with NGOs, I have also checked its website. However, YEE too does not have any sign of PPP projects.

Turkey's international cooperation agency TIKA's website also does not mention about its programs to support NGOs. However, its 2013 annual report has a section where it explains TIKA's cooperation with the NGOs (TIKA, 2014a: 228). According to the report, TIKA implemented 150 projects and activities in cooperation with more than 100 NGOs in 2013 (TIKA, 2014a: 228). TIKA's assistance has been similar to that of KOICA and JICA as it provided support for transportation costs, accommodation costs, materials and equipment, logistics and other administrative costs (TIKA, 2014a: 228). Another ODA report by TIKA states that in 2013, TIKA has given \$5.63 million of assistance to Turkish NGOs (TIKA, 2014b: 12, 22, 23). However, at least 54.8% (excluding others: 17.21%) of this assistance is given to GONGOs including Turkish Red Crescent, Turkish Religious Foundation and Yunus Emre Foundation (Foundation that YEE belongs to) (TIKA, 2014b: 78). Other receivers of this assistance are also those NGOs who are known as being very close to the AKP government (TIKA, 2014b: 78). Furthermore, the mechanisms to apply for TIKA's assistance and its screening process is not clear neither on its website nor in the reports. The same ODA report also states that "Turkish public entities provided 47.7 million USD of funds to NGOs" but again leaving which public entities, which NGOs and through which programs rather ambiguous (TIKA, 2014b: 14, 76). In short, TIKA's support for NGOs is much smaller than KOICA and JICA and the least transparent among the three.

Comparing the collaboration of fifteen NGOs from Korea, Japan and Turkey with the state agencies in their countries, it is found in this research project that none of the five Turkish NGOs receive grants from Turkish state agencies. Only one NGO representative (Turkayfe)

noted that they received a symbolic amount for a project-based deal which was possible because of acquaintances in that state agency. There are of course some Turkish NGOs, particularly those NGOs that are close to the government, that receive grants from Turkish state agencies. However, the fact that none of the selected Turkish NGOs receive grants from state agencies, which was not intended, attracts attention.

This result very much supports the argument above that collaboration frameworks between state agencies and NGOs in the field of public diplomacy is the least established and the least transparent in Turkey. While compared to JICA and KOICA, TIKa's support for NGOs is very much limited (about \$5 million in 2013) and there is no clear application procedure. There seems to be no apparent available state agency, including KDK and YEE, to fund NGOs' public diplomacy initiatives. In the literature too, it is argued that state funding of NGOs is very limited in Turkey in general (not limited to public diplomacy) and NGOs find most grants from external sources such as the EU (Ergun, 2010: 513; Rumelili and Bosnak, 2015: 133). Furthermore, Turkish NGOs in general refrain from getting government grants to secure their independence (Rumelili and Bosnak, 2015: 133). Therefore, it can be said that Turkish state agencies benefit the least from the potential NGOs have for public diplomacy. Neither the legal frameworks are well-established nor the necessity of collaboration with NGOs is well recognized for public diplomacy initiatives.

Moreover, even though all three countries in this study are considered democracies, Freedom House categorizes Turkey as only partly free (internet partly free and press not free) while qualifying Japan (both internet and press free) and Korea free (Korea's internet and press partly free) (Freedom House, 2015). Turkey is still not a consolidated democracy while Korea and Japan are considered more consolidated democracies. Furthermore, modern civil

society is still in the developing stages in Turkey with many elements of non-institutionalized and informal civil society organizations (Ayhan and Yoo, 2013). Turkish NGOs' right to associate and right to get funds from external sources were very much restricted until 2004 when new laws were enacted as part of EU reforms (Özbudun and Gençkaya, 2009: 75). While the 2004 and 2005 EU Progress Reports for Turkey acknowledged and encouraged AKP government's liberalizing steps of civil society (European Commission, 2004, 2005), recent EU Progress Reports continuously criticized discriminative (favoring pro-government civil society organizations over others) and restrictive practices (interpretations of laws disadvantaging civil society organizations) against civil society organizations' right to associate and incentives such as tax exemption and public benefit status despite having the related laws enacted (European Commission, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). In other words, the positive trend for liberalization of civil society in Turkey in the early AKP government era which was very active in making EU reforms turned opposite in the later years of the AKP governments. Since it is the Council of Ministers who decides whether to give NGOs incentives such as tax exemption and public benefit status, it has often been used by Turkish governments very selectively and politically (see e.g. Sarioğlu, 2014: 2; TÜSEV, 2013: 5-12). In Turkey, only 1% of the associations, and 7% of foundations have public benefit status and enjoy tax exemption (TÜSEV, 2010: 1). A report of the State Auditing Board of the Turkish Presidency also points out that current legal framework does not have a clear definition of "public benefit," and suggests that there should be objective criteria to define "public benefit" and the legal framework becomes more transparent (T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2010: 340).

These restricting factors could have been influential in making Turkish NGOs self-

dependent and refrain from state grants which could have put them under obligations to follow government's directions in their activities. Even though it is beyond the scope of this analysis, it can be speculated that this result supports Smith and Grønbjerg's (2006: 235) neo-institutional theory which argues that institutional environment which includes "lack of public funding and tax incentives" and "oppressive or inappropriate government regulations" negatively affect the nonprofit sector.

Second trend that marks a difference is that only Korean NGOs were employed as contractors for state agencies. KCOC and KOVA are categorized as contractor development NGOs as they have been outsourcing some activities in Korea's World Friends Korea program. HFA was also contractor for MOFA's Korea-Japan-China student debate project. None of the Turkish and Japanese participants told me any instances of implementing state agencies' projects on their behalf. This result supports the finding that Korea's public diplomacy (KF) and international development cooperation (KOICA) organizations are more proactive in realizing the potential of NGOs compared to their Turkish and Japanese counterparts. It is difficult to statistically generalize the findings of this research to other NGOs and civil society in the three countries, but it attracts attention that none of the selected Turkish or Japanese NGOs acted as contractors of state agencies. This may hint at Turkish and Japanese NGOs' hesitance to work as contractors of state agencies. However, such a conclusion and the reasons behind it require further research.

Another trend in the empirical data is the participants' comments on the reflection of the national history on their NGOs' activities. I would like to emphasize that there were no directly related questions on certain historical contexts in any of the interviews. In other words, this was an unexpected result as the questions or research aims did not include these

queries. More in-depth research can enlighten this issue more. However, at least one NGO representative from each country talked about how historical context of his/her country had an influence on the activities of the NGOs in present.

In the interviews with Korean participants there were many references to Korean history's influence on NGOs' activities. The first reference to history is given by KCOC's Secretary General that Korean NGOs in a way imitate the foreign NGOs that helped Korea's development during the hardships in post-war Korea. In other words, Korean NGOs pay back to the world responsibly as Korea has received a lot of development aid when it was a developing country. That is, she believes, one of the strongest motivations of Korean NGOs to engage internationally especially in the realm of development and humanitarian relief.

Similarly, MOFAS General Affairs Manager said that her seniors (older diplomat spouses) worked extremely hard for the development of their country in those difficult days: "compared to other countries Korea grew extremely rapidly, right? So, when we look back, in that process our seniors -diplomat spouses- worked very hard with passion, altruism and patriotic ardor for the country... Nobody forced them to do it, but they worked voluntarily with purity." She and her colleagues believe that Korean diplomat spouses work voluntarily harder than their counterparts in other countries, having learned from their seniors' hard work in post-war developing Korea.

VANK's Director talked about how Korea's very strong national pride was seriously damaged during the colonial period under Japan. Furthermore, he argues that, due to that colonial history, Korea was introduced to the primary and secondary school students all over the world from the perspective of the Japanese. He says was shocked to find this out back in early 2000s. Correcting this misinformation and saving Korea's national pride have been

significant motivating factors for VANK's activities.

VANK's Researcher also talked about the "historical painful experiences" that Korea went through such as "exploitation of imperialism," "Dokdo," and "comfort women" issues. Reflecting on these painful experiences, it was easier for Koreans to have empathy for other countries that are exploited by imperialism or that have other such historical painful experiences. She says that VANK wants to create awareness for these countries' problems among Korean youth by drawing parallels between Korea's sad history and those countries' experiences. VANK's Director, similarly, talked about introducing VANK's activities to other developing countries of Africa and Asia to be benchmarked so that they too can promote and advocate their countries against the "narrow-minded" coverage of Western media.

In Japan's case, Japan's "narrow-minded" military aggression against Korea, China and other Asian countries in the last century was mentioned by SGI Director. He said that SGI aims peace and mutual understanding "based on the deep and serious reflection from this sad history." Soka Gakkai's educational direction would always contradict the authoritarianism "such as militarism or Fascism" he adds. In Soka Gakkai's case, it wants to be independent from state agencies due to persecution of Buddhism by state authorities in history.

Furthermore, NPO1 President also talked about historical antagonism which is a central issue NPO1 deals with. NPO1 President says that his NGO does not "want any war or military conflict" in the region which has tension and antagonism because of the wars and tragedies of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. For NPO1, the largest threat in the region is this antagonism and "overheated nationalism" which may cause an "accidental war" in the region. NPO1 representative strongly believes that while states cause more and more conflicts because of



their national interests (as neorealists would argue), horizontal connection of people and their exchanges can overcome these problems (as neoliberals would argue).

In Turkey's case, DF's PR Coordinator talked about the vakif (i.e. foundation) culture in Ottoman era as their strongest motivation in their humanitarian aid activities today. As discussed above, the same can be said for all faith-inspired NGOs in Turkey regardless of their area of activities. PR Coordinator gives the examples of vakif even for injured birds or for feeding wild animals in winter back in the Ottoman era as an inspiration for their activities.

Furthermore, Turkeyfe's Co-founder talked about one of the main themes of their nation-branding campaign which is coffee. Reflecting on history, they used Turkey's (or rather Ottomans') role in introduction of coffee to the world as a means to initiate dialogue with coffee-lovers in the United States and Europe.

All in all, specific historical contexts and traumas of the past seem to have had an impact on the role civil society organizations play in each country. The NGOs' organizational identities carry elements from these historical influences. These influences and identities are reflected in the NGOs' activities and motivation for their activities. Further research with specific focus on these historical influences not only on NGOs' activities, but also on state's public diplomacy initiatives can provide us with better understanding of history's role in contemporary public diplomacy activities.

Lastly, there was a trend that all selected Korean NGOs emphasize educational activities as part of their core mission and actively educate and train their constituents and/or public to sharpen their skills as activists or to create awareness, while only three non-Korean NGOs (JWF, AAR and SGI) are engaged in education and training. This can be due to sampling

bias, but it makes one think of Korean's commitment to education -often referred to as 'educational fervor' (교육열)- which played critical role in making the 'Miracle on the Han River' a reality.

It is difficult to generalize these findings since the results may reflect the selected NGOs' characteristics more than reflecting their national identity. Analytical generalization (Yin, 2009: 38) purpose of this dissertation is achieved to generalize results based on the trends to the selected sample. The same results cannot be generalized universally. However, these findings can stimulate interest in new research about other NGOs in the three countries -or beyond- to find out more about the discussed issues.

## **6.2. Discussion on Relational Public Diplomacy**

This part is analyzed in detail in the first section of Chapter 5. Initially it was assumed that NGOs enjoy more effective contact with stakeholders as they might have equal footing with the publics in the field (Allport quoted in Cowan and Arsenault, 2008: 20). However, the interview data shows that not all NGOs enjoy such effective contact with the locals. This proposition turns out to be true for NGOs that are on the ground and frequently meet their foreign stakeholders (in some cases their counterparts). Intellectual advocacy NGOs (i.e. NPO1, FEC, JWF, Nittokai and SGI), MOFAS, to a certain extent ISR (forums), to a certain extent VANK (on its members' individual basis), to a certain extent Turkeyfe (online platform), to a certain extent AAR (partnerships with local NGOs), and to a certain extent

DF (partnerships with local NGOs) are the NGOs that have effective contact with their local stakeholders. Especially intellectual advocacy NGOs (i.e. FEC, NPO1, JWF and Nittokai) and ISR and MOFAS (as they share some characteristics with intellectual advocacy NGOs) have symmetrical and close two-way relationships with their foreign stakeholders or counterparts as discussed in the first section of Chapter 5.

The most significant finding of this research regarding relational public diplomacy is that intellectual advocacy NGOs are founded for the purpose of fostering dialogue and increasing mutual understanding between people of different countries, different cultures and/or different faiths. As discussed in the analytical framework, effective dialogue requires some essential features such as mutuality, commitment and maintaining identity.

Nevertheless, using dialogue as a shield for a hidden agenda such as eventually converting others would not be effective for relational public diplomacy which can be regarded as a ‘repeatedly played game’ in game theory terminology. In the long-term, as Edward R. Murrow (1963 quoted in Waller, 2007: 158) put it, “to be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful.” In other words, faith-inspired NGOs’ dialogic and two-way symmetrical approach cannot be sustainable if they try to propagate their religion and convert others using interfaith dialogue platforms. Soka Gakkai’s propagation of religion and its political connections with Komeito Party may raise question marks for SGI’s dialogue activities. However, it is beyond the scope of this research project to determine whether SGI’s dialogue activities are done based on the necessary dialogue features that emphasize mutuality rather than one-way propagation.

On the other hand, some NGOs do not have equal contact as such with their stakeholders. Particularly development NGOs’ relations with the locals are rather more asymmetrical

while some of them (AAR and DF) have partnerships with local NGOs. Promotional advocacy NGOs (except for MOFAS and ISR) VANK, TCF and Turkeyfe's organizational communication approach also fall short of relational public diplomacy based on two-way symmetrical communication and dialogue while both VANK and Turkeyfe show signs of two-way symmetrical approach in other aspects.

There can be reasons for this that explain why these NGOs follow an asymmetrical communication approach. Especially for development NGOs, it is not necessary for them to build and maintain relations with local stakeholders possibly apart from local NGOs and authorities whom they collaborate with. As discussed before, building and maintaining relations require time and energy creating an opportunity cost (Brown, 2010: 7; 2013b: 246). These NGOs need to invest their time and energy in supplying humanitarian aid and relief and development programs as mentioned by HFA's Team Manager. Therefore, it may be the case that it is not as much necessary for these NGOs to follow a symmetrical approach and indeed it may be costly and hindering their main aid activities.

In Turkeyfe's case, the opportunity cost argument may also hold true. As a nation-branding project, it is inclined to asymmetrical information framework (Zaharna, 2009: 90), but Turkeyfe's aim to show human side of the nation is in line with symmetrical relational public diplomacy. Nevertheless, Turkeyfe has no full-time staff and has only couple of active volunteers that carry out Turkeyfe's projects. Therefore, it is likely that if Turkeyfe had enough staff and resources they would be more interested in building and maintaining relations with local stakeholders.

In VANK's case, the organization's one-way informational approach is recently being backed up with more symmetrical and universal project of World Changer. It is a new but

promising project showing signs of commitment to global issues as well as that of Korea. It is also found out that, VANK members follows a two-way symmetrical approach on individual basis as they make friends with foreign penpals.

Furthermore, some Korean participants mentioned that many Korean development NGOs rely on Korean Christian missionaries to carry out their projects. From a relational public diplomacy perspective, especially aggressive missionaries' work can diminish the image of Korea. One participant noted that Korean state agencies are well aware of this issue and therefore abstain from supporting NGOs with such aggressive record that put Korea's interests on jeopardy. For example, Korea Foundation limits its support to organizations that are engaged in people-to-people diplomacy to "non-religious, non-political and non-profit" (Korea Foundation, 2013b). Japan Foundation too rules out support for projects that seem to aim for "advancement of specific political or religious views" (Japan Foundation, 2015e: 3, 12). It is justifiable that state agencies refrain from funding NGOs that act for the interests of only a particular group while probably damaging the interests of public at large.

However, it must be noted that state agencies should not deny all religious or faith-based NGOs funding while being selective. Some religious activities can help boost a country's public diplomacy objectives as long as state agencies can make sure that the faith-based organization in question does not jeopardize country's image and interests through its asymmetric and aggressive missionary activities. The mobilization capacity and resources of faith-based organizations can be useful for a country's public diplomacy in some cases (see e.g. Ayhan, 2014; Musso, Kitsuse, and Cooper, 2002; Sending, Pouliot, and Neumann, 2011). The Korean Conference of Religion and Peace (KCRP) ([www.kcrp.or.kr](http://www.kcrp.or.kr)) is a good example of a religious NGO that can contribute to Korean public diplomacy. KCRP represents seven

major religions in Korea since the federations and organizations of these religions are members of KCRP (KCRP, 2015). KCRP is involved in international and interfaith dialogue activities emphasizing two-way symmetrical relations. Furthermore, another example is that, as stated earlier, some religious NGOs can create even a better image for the country if their work is welcomed in the place they operate as in the case of Korean Buddhist monks' humanitarian activities in Buddhist countries or Catholic NGOs' activities in Catholic neighborhoods.

### **6.3. Discussion on Networked Public Diplomacy**

This part is analyzed in detail in the second section of Chapter 5. It was found that organizations with membership mechanisms and frequent meetings have more bonding social capital. MOFAS, KCOC (in terms of being a network of member NGOs), KOVA and FEC are the NGOs with high bonding social capital. Their bonding social capital implies that there is "voluntary diffusion of norms, values, and shared information" (Oliver, 1991: 171) which in turn creates greater credibility and lower enforcement costs (Coleman, 1988: 107-108; Fisher, 2013a: 200; Burt, 2000: 347; Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008; Walker, Kogut, and Shan, 1997: 111). In other words, these NGOs have much social capital that strengthens communication and collaboration with others in the same network (Coleman, 1988: 105; Putnam, 1995: 67; Walker, Kogut, and Shan, 1997: 111).

These NGOs with high bonding social capital offer potential to state agencies in the way that when NGOs collaborate with state agencies, they can convey information to their

members and mobilize them with greater ease. Indeed, it is found that all these four NGOs already collaborate with relevant state agencies giving latter access to the NGOs' membership network base and mobilize members when necessary. In return, NGOs get information, legitimacy and funds from the state agencies and access to official circles.

The importance of credibility is also discussed in relation to stakeholders' view of public diplomacy activities as self-interests of a state or an organization. In the analytical framework, public diplomacy objectives that are beyond national or organizational interests are offered as a way to mitigate negative connotations of self-interests or propaganda. These public diplomacy objectives can be global issues such as protecting environment, peacebuilding, fostering harmony and mutual understanding for confidence building and security order, all of which can be regarded as global public goods.

Consistent with the analytical framework, selected NGOs proved to be competent in this area working voluntarily on global issues and not being trapped in the boundaries of national interests. Almost all NGOs selected for this research project engage in global issues ranging from poverty reduction to peacebuilding.

Another issue regarding networked public diplomacy is the 'reach' of NGOs in their networks. In line with the reviewed literature, it is found that NGOs with higher bridging social capital act like a "network bridge" (Zaharna, 2013: 183-184) spanning "structural holes" (Burt, 2000) or "cultural holes" (Pachucki and Breiger, 2010).

All advocacy NGOs except for Turkeyfe (i.e. MOFAS, VANK, ISR, FEC, SGI, NPO1, JWF, Nittokai and TCF) and KCOC are the NGOs that enjoy bridging role. Particularly, intellectual advocacy NGOs (i.e. FEC, SGI, NPO1, JWF and Nittokai) and ISR organize

international forums and have much international exchanges at opinion leaders' level. Thus, they have potential to bridge their high level overseas networks with their networks at home. They are benefitted by being brokers between significant networks; and their bridging role has become part of their identity in order to maintain their added-value.

In addition to spanning structural holes, Nittokai also span “cultural holes” (Pachucki and Breiger, 2010) by facilitating understanding of different cultural and social practices and discourses between Turkey and Japan. In the case of AAR, it collaborates with local NGOs that can prevent cultural frictions when they operate in the field where they are not familiar with the local culture.

MOFAS and KCOC bridge mainly between state agencies and their other networks. MOFAS' strategic network position of being naturally very intimate to their spouses' workplace, which is MOFA and Korean Missions overseas, gives them a bridging role between private organizations or individuals and MOFA or Korean Missions. KCOC has ties with KOICA and other state agencies while also having weak ties with other international NGO networks including UN ECOSOC where it holds a special consultative status. KCOC acts as a gatekeeper of information bridging between its 122 member NGOs and its other external networks.

Furthermore, even though there was no directly related question, some participants spoke about the limitations of state agencies to do public diplomacy. Representatives of NGOs (FEC and Turkeyfe) that are relatively more open to collaboration with state agencies mentioned state officials' occupation with many other duties that they carry out together with public diplomacy duties. Others (VANK, NPO1 and SGI) talked about the importance and effectiveness of people-to-people exchanges compared with the state-centric exchanges.



NGO participants also confidently talked about their advantages compared to the state agencies. Particularly NPO1 representative proudly mentioned their relative advantages in dealing with issues that are beyond national interests while state's similar actions can be viewed with suspicions of self-interests.

#### **6.4. Discussion on Collaborative Public Diplomacy**

This research project developed a typology to categorize collaboration in public diplomacy initiatives based on two questions which are whose initiative it is and who proposes collaboration in the first place.

Out of fifteen NGOs from three countries, only two NGOs mentioned about cases in which state agencies actively approached the NGOs to propose partnership. One rare case was HFA's debate camp for Chinese, Japanese and Korean students. It was originally MOFA's idea, but HFA was asked to carry out the project, being its contractor (active contractor). Indeed, this was a rare case because the person in charge at MOFA was personally familiar with the activities of HFA and thought that they would do a good job running the project on behalf of MOFA. Other than this case, VANK Director talked about the overlaps between their activities and interests and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education's activities and interests. He said that VANK is occasionally approached by state agencies for collaboration, but not very often.

Indeed, this result is in agreement with the reviewed literature (Sen and Davala, 2002: 39; Gazley, 2008) that it is usually NGOs that apply for collaboration with state agencies since

the latter is in control of more resources. Therefore, active collaboration and active contractor partnerships are predicted to be rare.

Also consistent with the reviewed literature (Gazley, 2008), most partnerships between selected NGOs and state agencies take place informally. Most collaborative initiatives analyzed for this study involve NGOs asking for logistics support from state agencies without really involving shared management of a project (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Gazley, 2008).

Furthermore, another important finding of this research project is that compared to advocacy NGOs, development NGOs are more likely to collaborate with state agencies and more willing to receive support, including funds, from them. This could be due to the fact that the state has more established frameworks for ODA grants and development NGOs apply for those grants with their projects which fit these frameworks. It is even to the point that development NGOs are expected to be contractors of state's ODA if they are to receive grants (Korten, 1990: 103 quoted in Attack 1999: 857). KCOC Secretary General's evaluation of this is very significant. As stated above, she believes that ODA is a new area and there is a lot to do for both the relevant state agency and the NGOs. Therefore, she is convinced that collaboratively working for shared interests and receiving funds is currently more appealing than putting effort for projects that could result in clash of interests and no funding for NGOs. It seems to hold true for Japanese and Turkish cases too. AAR Program Manager explains that Japanese development NGOs are expected to "align their projects with the priorities stipulated in the ODA Charter" if they are to receive funding and collaborate with the state agencies. Turkish development organization DF's PR Coordinator says that their activities' direction are decided by their board, but without overlooking "Turkey's national interests, public institutes' sensitivities and Turkish government's general policies" while this seems

to be the case for other, especially faith-inspired, development NGOs in Turkey (Cevik, 2014). In short, there are potentially more overlaps of interests, and in turn more established belief in the necessity of collaboration, in the case of development cooperation between state agencies and NGOs compared to the case of other public diplomacy activities.

On the other hand, internationally active NGOs other than development NGOs are doing very wide spectrum of activities. It is more complex to establish frameworks for various kind of projects and even more difficult to assess and inspect the grant applicants. It is even more so in the case of public diplomacy projects which is a new policy area. Furthermore, it is more likely that advocacy NGOs have varying interests different than state agencies' funding conditions require. This puts advocacy NGOs in a dilemma between independently pursuing their own interests with no grants and giving up some of their organizational interests by complying with the conditions of state agencies upon receiving funding. This is a typical dilemma any NGO faces between its values and government funding. Reflecting on Korea Foundation's workshop for NGOs that are registered as diplomatic NGOs, ISR Executive Director talked about this issue: "the Ministry (MOFA) has funding for public diplomacy now, but there is not too much funding and there are too many NGOs looking for it... Funding is very much attached to conditions and if you get funding from a government organization, you have to comply with their conditions or their request from time to time."

Above, three countries' state agencies that are relevant to collaboration with NGOs in the realm of public diplomacy are compared. There, the three countries' organizations' available collaboration frameworks for NGOs are compared. It is meaningful here to point out the differences between collaboration frameworks of international development cooperation agencies (i.e. KOICA, JICA and TIKa) and public diplomacy agencies (i.e. KF, JF and

KDK). International development cooperation agencies in all three countries have established available mechanisms to support NGO projects to varying degrees. In the case of public diplomacy agencies, KF and JF have collaboration frameworks, but not KDK (also not YEE). Furthermore, the extent and the available funds that international development cooperation agencies have are much more significant than public diplomacy agencies have. This may be due to the international expectations and pressures for ODA to increase and the prestige that comes along with it. This can be another reason why development NGOs are more likely to collaborate with state agencies compared to advocacy NGOs.

Development NGOs KCOC, KOVA and AAR receive funds from state agencies for doing ODA activities as outlined in the relevant state organizations' ODA charter. Furthermore, NPO1 receives funds for its think thank activities, but has strict rules about the funds it receives and regards its independence as part of its identity. Other NGOs collaborate with state agencies only receiving logistics support or project-based support such as asking state agencies to cover VIP guests' accommodation, to arrange meetings for a delegation or to share reports about conditions in a specific country.

Intellectual advocacy NGOs except for NPO1 (i.e. FEC, SGI, JWF and Nittokai) and ISR, TCF, DF and HFA strictly receive no funds from state agencies apart from project-based partial support. As mentioned above, NPO1 receive funds for its think-tank function, and avoids funds for its intellectual advocacy programs. While grants have many conditions attached that often favor state agencies' interests at the cost of NGOs' own interests and independence, project-based partnerships -as in the case of ISR's forums- involve more mutuality and maintaining of the weaker partner's (i.e. NGO) identity (Atack, 1999: 859; Brinkerhoff, 2002; Charlton, 1995: 570). That is why many advocacy NGOs prefer project-

based collaboration rather than receiving funding from state agencies. Development NGOs HFA and DF prefer relying on their private donors' donations. Other NGOs operate on membership dues and/or sponsors' support.

The most important reason behind receiving no funds is these NGOs' independence concerns as discussed in the fourth section of Chapter 5. They want to stick to their organizational values and goals which are what constitutes their identity. In this respect, Brinherhoff's (2002) argument for mutuality and maintaining identity in partnerships is supported. If state agencies mean to benefit from collaboration with the NGOs, they should be ready to take into account mutuality of project management and maintaining of the partner NGOs' identity.

Four participants from VANK, Turkeyfe, KOVA and Nittokai talked about how collaboration with state agencies even if it is just a matter of using its logo adds value and credibility to the project (KOVA, Turkeyfe, Nittokai) and attracts volunteers more than otherwise (VANK). NGOs' credibility and legitimacy are heavily based on their specialized knowledge and expertise (Kramer, 1981: 232, 260-262). However, in some cases the state can be seen more reliable, credible and legitimate (Salamon, 1987) and NGOs such as in these cases may want to benefit from the reliability, credibility and legitimacy of the state agencies to complement their own (see also Batora, 2005). However, AAR participant thinks differently as stated above. He believes that what is important is their activities being lawful and legitimate; and their stakeholders are indifferent to endorsement from state agencies.

Even though collaborative public diplomacy between the government and NGOs is not much developed in these three countries, particularly in Turkey, complementarity explains much of why state agencies and NGOs collaborate. Complementarity here should be

understood more broadly than Young's (2006: 40) "complementarity" definition in which he limits complementarity to government financing of NGOs' delivery of public goods. NGOs and state agencies complement each other in collaborative public diplomacy initiatives since the former may have capabilities such as expertise, credibility, symmetrical two-way communication and reach while the latter provides the NGOs with financing, logistics and/or legitimacy. This type of complementarity can occur in all four ways outlined in the collaboration typology in Table 3 while Young's (2006: 40) complementarity would be limited to contractor type of partnership. Turkey's case shows that without the institutional architecture for collaboration, NGOs would not be able to complement government's public diplomacy efforts, but rather only keep "supplement[ing]" (Young, 2006: 40) them on their own by plugging the gaps left in state-centric public diplomacy.

The results differ also among these three countries. Korea's KF and KOICA have well-established frameworks for collaborative public diplomacy even though the scale may be speculated to be rather smaller compared to liberal and social democratic countries. Therefore, there is more collaboration between the NGOs and the state agencies in Korea in the realm of public diplomacy compared to Japan and Turkey. Japan's JF and JICA also have support mechanisms for NGOs' activities although not as well established as Korea's. Japanese NGOs collaborate with the state agencies to a lesser degree, but still there is some collaboration. In the case of Turkey, it is seen that without well-established institutional architecture for collaboration (KDK, YEE, somewhat TIKA), NGOs are not as much able to complement the state's public diplomacy efforts. However, even though some NGOs, particularly in Turkey, were not able to -or preferred not to- collaborate with the state agencies and complement their efforts, they were still active in their activities and

“supplement[ed]” public diplomacy outcomes, which are public goods, since they are left unsatisfied by the state agencies (Young, 2006: 39-40).

## **6.5. Policy Implications for Collaborative Public Diplomacy**

In this section, policy implications of this research project are discussed. These implications are designed to offer suggestions to policy-makers responsible for public diplomacy based on the theoretical discussions and the findings of this study in relation to collaborative public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy policies must be designed to achieve specific objectives such as cultivation of public opinion to influence foreign policy decisions of governments; promotion of a country’s culture, language, history, values, ideas, ideals, institutions, goals, interests, economy, brands and discourses; fostering mutual understanding with foreigners and pursuing global peace and harmony. Each objective can be achieved through different combinations of short-term, medium-term and long-term initiatives using various instruments such as international broadcasting, intellectual events, cultural events, educational exchanges and networking. Each of these initiatives and instruments may require different communication frameworks (i.e. relational or information) or a balance between the two.

Short-term initiatives that require hours and days to react, such as news management, is difficult to be outsourced to or done in collaboration with the NGOs. That is because, in these cases quick decision-making is necessary and state agencies’ bureaucracy itself is often slow

and collaboration can potentially slow it down even more. Therefore, there is no collaborative public diplomacy suggestions for short-term initiatives.

Medium-term initiatives require proactive strategic communication (Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002) within weeks and months. These initiatives are mainly based on Zaharna's (2009) information framework which particularly emphasize messaging such as nation-branding, international broadcasting, but also include some activities based on the relational framework such as intellectual events, cultural diplomacy and media relations. These projects can be done in collaboration with relevant NGOs and other non-state actors, particularly promotional advocacy NGOs who have expertise and know-how related to the initiatives at hand. Medium-term public diplomacy initiatives can have objectives such as advocacy, influence, agenda-setting, mobilization, informing, promotion and prestige and reinforcing other foreign policy objectives.

Finally, long-term initiatives require relationship-building and relationship management that require years and often non-state actors are more capable in this dimension (Nye, 2004: 109-110; Riordan, 2004: 12; 2005: 191; Gilboa, 2008: 73; Zaharna, 2009: 91-92; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002: 11; Nye, 2008a: 103). These initiatives are mainly based on Zaharna's (2009) relational framework which includes but not limited to cultural and educational exchange programs and relationship-building campaigns. State agencies' weaknesses are most apparent in these long-term initiatives that require costly and time consuming relationship-building and relationship-management. Furthermore, there could be public skepticism against government officials' involvement in these initiatives. As outlined in the analytical framework, these projects can be done in collaboration with relevant NGOs and other non-state actors which have potential capabilities that include long-term vision,



neutrality, credibility, behavioral and symmetrical relationships with their stakeholders whom they have rather equal footing. Particularly intellectual advocacy NGOs are found to best suit long-term relational public diplomacy.

Furthermore, network environment in which these public diplomacy initiatives take place must be analyzed to find out what kind of network properties are required for each initiative. Weaknesses of state agencies in terms of network properties must be identified to complement these weaknesses through collaboration with relevant NGOs. As such, when ‘credibility’ is the greatest obstacle to reach out to the certain publics, collaboration with NGOs that have credibility in the relevant (part of the) network can facilitate communication and relationship management. Furthermore, when ‘reach’ is the greatest obstacle to conduct effective public diplomacy in some areas, collaboration with actors that enjoy greater brokerage capability can facilitate connection, communication and relationship management (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 393).

When these analyses are done, it would be easier to point out what kind of NGOs can be best partners in each public diplomacy initiative. NGOs that have the advantages of neutrality, credibility and high bonding social capital can prove helpful in cases where credibility is needed; while NGOs that have the advantages of bridging and spanning structural (or cultural) holes would be best partners where reach is the greatest obstacle against effective public diplomacy. NGOs with membership mechanisms and frequent meetings in which they create bonding and team-building (Zaharna, 2013: 182-183) can be helpful in cases where credibility is needed; while advocacy NGOs whose main activities are based on networking are found to be best potential partners when reach is the obstacle against effective public diplomacy.

These partnerships can be formed in two different ways. Firstly, relevant state agency designs a public diplomacy policy and searches for NGO partners (active contractor) or accepts applications by (passive contractor) NGOs. Secondly, there are NGOs which are doing activities that can benefit public diplomacy outcomes of the state agencies. Public diplomats may open the channels for these NGOs to apply for collaboration (passive collaboration) or propose them collaboration in the first place (active collaboration) to empower these NGOs' initiatives which in turn contribute to public diplomacy objectives of the state agencies.

What is most important here is that official public diplomats must recognize that state-centric public diplomacy might not always get the best outcomes be it because of the policy design, lack of resources or simply because of inherently being state-centric. This recognition must facilitate open-minded and vivid collaborative public diplomacy opportunities. One difficulty here could be that this kind of collaborative public diplomacy might require extra efforts by public diplomats whose evaluation may stay unaffected despite the extra efforts. This problem stems from the fact that collaborative public diplomacy initiatives often require medium-term to long-term to bear results which are often difficult to measure.<sup>41</sup> There can be proxy measures, but by the time these initiatives' results are seen, the diplomats would not be responsible for the same initiatives any more leaving their position without the chance to be evaluated on what they have done. Therefore, the top management (e.g. top diplomats in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, leadership of Public Diplomacy Directorate or Cultural Center) must encourage such collaboration and give incentives for creation of new

---

<sup>41</sup> For more on evaluation of public diplomacy initiatives, see for example (Pahlavi, 2007; Sevin, 2014; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2010; Pamment, 2012, 2013, 2014).

opportunities without waiting for their results in the medium or long-term.

As previously discussed, public diplomacy outcomes are public goods. In turn, it is difficult to expect the provision of these public goods from the market even though the market is also likely to benefit from the outcomes such as attraction of more tourists and more FDI (Ayhan, 2010; Elaeva, 2011) and improved brand equity of national companies (Han, Chang, and Hwang, 2008; Ayhan, 2010; Jung, 2006; Kim, 2002; Park, 2009; Yagi, 2003, 2008; Yoo, 2007). Therefore, it would be up to either the state or the nonprofit sector to come in and make up for the market failure. Regardless of whether it is the state or the nonprofit sector that responds first to the market failure (Salamon, 1987), both also have their failures, namely state failures and voluntary failures. Particularly in the statist countries (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) where both government welfare and nonprofit scale are low, much is left to the market and both the state's and the nonprofit sector's response to the market failure are expected to be inadequate. Therefore, especially in these countries, the state and the nonprofit sector should emphasize collaboration more to cover each other's failures and complement each other.

This dissertation thesis did not compare statist countries with liberal and social democratic countries (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), but only researched NGOs in three statist countries. The empirical findings in this research plugged the knowledge gap regarding NGOs' activities in the realm of public diplomacy in statist countries and provided us with a clearer picture of non-state public diplomacy. More comparative research is needed to understand the difference between collaborative public diplomacy between the government and NGOs in statist countries and other countries. Furthermore, this research showed us that NGOs even in these statist countries are active in and relevant to public diplomacy. NGOs' activities in

the realm of public diplomacy, regardless that they have public diplomacy agenda (promotional advocacy NGOs) or not (other NGOs), cannot be an alternative to state-centric public diplomacy. Yet, NGOs keep “supplement[ing]” (Young, 2006: 39-40) state agencies’ public diplomacy efforts by plugging the gaps left in state-centric public diplomacy even if the state agencies are not aware of this. Yet, in order to maximize public diplomacy outcomes, this “supplementary” (Young, 2006: 39-40) relationship should change to “complementary” (Young, 2006: 40) relationship in which state agencies are more appreciative of the potential NGOs have and collaborate with them by adding value to the latter’s public diplomacy initiatives (active/passive collaboration) or by outsourcing state-centric public diplomacy to capable NGOs (active/passive contractor). However, complementarity is not as much developed in public diplomacy policy arena where mutual benefits of collaboration opportunities are not very apparent (Scholz, Berardo, and Kile, 2008: 307, 405). In order to take advantage of as many NGOs as possible, state agencies should ready themselves to actively seek for NGOs which offer potential to maximize collaborative public diplomacy outcomes, since some NGOs may refrain from applying for collaboration in the first place.

It is shown through this dissertation thesis that NGOs offer potential for collaborative public diplomacy initiatives and this potential is still unrealized in most cases. One way to realize their potential is to allocate staff to monitor and analyze NGOs’ public diplomacy activities. It is a fact that both Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the agencies responsible for different aspects of public diplomacy have limited human and financial resources, and it may seem difficult to allocate extra staff for such a mission. However, the potential benefits that can come from NGOs justify the costs. More than anything else, if a state has certain public diplomacy objective and its agencies lack the necessary qualities required for relational and

network dimensions of public diplomacy, which are discussed in the analytical framework in detail, then the unrealized potential of NGOs create opportunity costs which are much higher than the actual costs of allocating staff for monitoring potential collaboration partner NGOs.

Moreover, the staff responsible for this mission must be up to date with the latest research on relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy and aware of long-term objectives of public diplomacy such as relationship-building with influential individuals. Otherwise, public diplomacy would be caught in a vicious cycle and limited to short-to-medium-term goals such as promoting the culture of the nation.

As discussed in the analytical framework, the public diplomats must be able to act as “boundary-spanners” (Hocking, 2004: 151; Hocking et al., 2012: 69) or “network weavers” (Krebs and Holley, 2002) between non-state actors and state agencies. After all, official public diplomacy channels are not enough to achieve public diplomacy objectives alone as VANK Director, NPO1 President and Turkeyfe Co-founder mentioned in the interviews. Indeed, public diplomacy must be the diplomacy of publics as both Castells (2008) and President of NPO1 argued. The more public diplomacy activities are done between the peoples the more it would be two-way symmetrical, the more it is symmetrical the more it would be relational, hence the more long-lasting its effects would be. Furthermore, these ‘boundary-spanners’ must find out the capable NGOs that would add value to public diplomacy initiatives while also being able to point out those that can jeopardize the state’s interests by their particularism (Salamon, 1987: 40-41). NGOs’ added-value can create multiplier effect for public diplomacy initiatives.

Collaboration does not necessarily need to be formal or in terms of financial funding of

NGOs' projects (Gazley, 2008). There can well be informal collaboration to span public and private spheres (Evans, 1997: 7) to speed up formal collaboration's procedures (Chisholm, 1992). This study also shows that informal partnerships including logistics support or even borrowing state institute's logo may enhance public diplomacy outcomes for shared goals of the NGOs and the state agencies.

This research presented that some NGOs, particularly advocacy NGOs, highly value their independence and avoid being directed by state agencies even if it means they cannot get any funding from the state agencies. The partnerships that involve mutuality in project management and also maintenance of the identity of NGOs (i.e. their core values such as independence and core activities that their constituents expect them to maintain) are likely to be more sustainable and more rewarding (Brinkerhoff, 2002).

Furthermore, even if state agencies promise mutuality in partnership and maintaining identity of NGOs, some NGOs would still refrain from approaching the state agencies for collaboration since it is not the way of business some NGOs operate as shown in this research and also in Zatepilina's research (2010: 100). Tapping such NGOs' potential requires state agencies' first step towards them for collaboration. Active collaboration, as it is conceptualized in this study, can be sought with capable NGOs which can be found through extensive monitoring as suggested above.

Lastly, it is not only local NGOs that a state should collaborate with for public diplomacy initiatives. If they can be reached and they are believed to add value to public diplomacy initiatives, foreign NGOs both at home (e.g. foreign or international NGOs in the country) and abroad and diaspora communities of both home country in other countries and also diaspora communities of other countries at home also offer potential for public diplomacy

initiatives which involve mutually shared interests. These non-state actors are natural “network bridges” (Zaharna, 2013: 183-184) between nations as shown in the cases of MOFAS and Nittokai, which are discussed in Chapter 5.

## **6.6. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research**

This study’s nature is exploratory as explained in the Methodology Chapter. The exploration of selected NGOs’ activities in the realm of public diplomacy resulted in greater understanding of non-state public diplomacy presenting why and how NGOs do the activities related to public diplomacy and why and how they collaborate with state agencies for collaborative initiatives. As Babbie (2010: 522) suggests, this “exploratory report points the way to more-refined research on the topic.” Therefore, this exploratory study should be seen as an initial step towards a fuller picture of non-state public diplomacy.

Nevertheless, some limitations of the exploratory nature of this study should be pointed out. While in this research project, public diplomacy is conceptualized to encompass non-state actors and an analytical framework is developed to guide the analysis, there was no evaluation mechanism to assess the contributions of the selected NGOs’ activities to public diplomacy of their countries. In turn, no causal relationship could be established between NGOs’ activities and public diplomacy outcomes although the connection was suggested based on the relevant theories and reflections of the participants. As a result, while the discussions in this research help more in-depth understanding of the underexplored realm of non-state public diplomacy, the findings in this research cannot be generalized to all other

cases. Further research, which can build on the “cumulat[ed] knowledge” (Yin, 2011: 296-297) in this study, should generate hypotheses to prove causal relationships between NGOs’ activities and public diplomacy outcomes. Each section in this dissertation (i.e. relational public diplomacy, networked public diplomacy and collaborative public diplomacy) is a promising field for building and testing hypotheses based on the discussions in this research. The propositions of this study in each section can be advanced to become hypotheses to be tested. This requires enriching the perspectives and the research methods which can include surveys and interviews of the audiences (i.e. stakeholders) of public diplomacy and of related state officials as well as those of NGO participants.

Furthermore, in order to statistically generalize the findings, quantitative studies with random sampling and standardized questionnaires, which again may be based on the findings in this study, can be done. Indeed, the author of this thesis is planning to survey Korean NGOs which are registered at Korea Foundation’s site ([www.p2pdc.or.kr](http://www.p2pdc.or.kr)) as “people-to-people diplomacy organizations” (민간외교단체)<sup>42</sup> in order to better understand their relevance to Korean public diplomacy and show their unrealized potential for collaborative opportunities. Similar studies can be done in other countries too.

This study’s another weakness was in selection of only three countries which share many commonalities as discussed in Chapter 3. Further research on Western democracies, non-democracies, small-size countries, low-context cultures and liberal market economies can complement this study and test the universality of the ideas and discussions in this research project, particularly in the analytical framework.

---

<sup>42</sup> As of July 2015, there were 505 organizations registered as “people-to-people diplomacy organization” at this website run by Korea Foundation (Korea Foundation, 2015d).



In addition to better understanding the nature of non-state public diplomacy, there can be future studies comparing NGOs' role in public diplomacy in different countries. Even though this study included NGOs from three countries, it did not attempt and achieve cross-country comparison in detail. Further research is needed on cross-country comparison of non-state public diplomacy. Comparative studies of nonprofit sector (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Choi, 2011; Salamon et al., 1999; Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier, 2000; Salamon, 2010; Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006), comparative studies of public diplomacy (Pamment, 2013; Rasmussen, 2009; Park and Lim, 2014; Sevin, 2014; White and Radic, 2014; Yun, 2005, 2006) and studies on non-state public diplomacy (Attias, 2012; Ayhan, 2014; Lee and Ayhan, 2015; Leonard, Stead, and Smewing, 2002; Trent, 2012b, 2012a; Zaharna, 2013; Zatepilina, 2009, 2010; Zatepilina-Monacell, 2012, 2015; Zhang and Swartz, 2009) can guide this ambitious challenge. This kind of cross-country study can include countries with varying sizes, economic power status, political power status, former power status (e.g. former empires), political systems, market systems, cultural contexts (i.e. high-context vs. low-context) and welfare systems.

## REFERENCES

- AA. 2013. "Humanity prepare its own end, says Assyrian Catholic Church leader Sag." KADIP Accessed 29 July 2015. <http://www.kadip.org.tr/Haberler/Detay/2567/Humanity%20prepare%20its%20own%20end%20says%20Assyrian%20Catholic%20Church%20leader%20Sag>.
- AAR Japan. 2015a. "About AAR Japan." Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://www.aarjapan.gr.jp/english/about/>.
- AAR Japan. 2015b. "Raising Public Awareness." Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://www.aarjapan.gr.jp/english/activity/pubaware/>.
- Abant Platformu. 2015. "Yönetim Kurulu." Accessed 2 August 2015. <http://www.abantplatform.org/Hakkimizda/Detay/185/Y%C3%B6netim%20Kurulu>.
- Aldecoa, Francisco, and Michael Keating, eds. 1999. *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*. London, UK: Frank Cass Publishers.
- Anderson, Kenneth. 2000. "The Ottawa Convention Banning Landmines, the Role of International Non-governmental Organizations and the Idea of International Civil Society." *European Journal of International Law* 11 (1):91-120.
- Anderson, Kenneth, and David Rieff. 2004. "'Global Civil Society': A Sceptical View." In *Global Civil Society 2004-2005*, edited by Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor, 26-39. London: Sage Publications.
- Anheier, Helmut, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor. 2001. "Introducing Global Civil Society." In *Global Civil Society Yearbook*, edited by Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor, 3-22. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Anheier, Helmut, and Hagai Katz. 2004. "Network Approaches to Global Civil Society." In *Global Civil Society 2004-2005*, edited by Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor. London: Sage Publications.
- Anholt, Simon. 2002. "Nation Branding: A Continuing Theme." *Journal of Brand Management* 10 (1):59-60.
- Anholt, Simon. 2007. "Competitive Identity: A New Model for the Brand Management of Nations." *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review* 4 (Spring):3-13.
- Armitage, Richard Lee, and Joseph S. Nye. 2007. *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A smarter, more secure America*: CSIS.

- Armstrong, Matthew C. 2009. "Operationalizing Public Diplomacy." In *Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 19-23. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Arndt, Richard T. 2005. *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*. 1st ed. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books.
- Arts, Bas. 2001a. "The Impact of Environmental NGOs on International Conventions." In *Non-state Actors in International Relations*, edited by Bas Arts, Math Noortmann and Bob Reinalda, 195-210. Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing.
- Arts, Bas. 2001b. "International Policy Arrangements of State and Non-State Actors." In *Non-state Actors in International Relations*, edited by Bas Arts, Math Noortmann and Bob Reinalda, 41-58. Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing.
- Arts, Bas. 2003. "Non-state Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power." Bonn, Germany Accessed 15 February 2015. [https://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf\\_dat/2003\\_04online.pdf](https://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf_dat/2003_04online.pdf).
- Arts, Bas, Math Noortmann, and Bob Reinalda. 2001. *Non-state Actors in International Relations*. Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Atack, Iain. 1999. "Four Criteria of Development NGO Legitimacy." *World Development* 27 (5):855-864.
- Attias, Shay. 2012. "Israel's New Peer-to-peer Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (4):473-482.
- Auer, Claudia, and Alice Srugies. 2013. "Public Diplomacy in Germany." CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles, CA.
- Ayhan, Kadir. 2010. "The Nexus between East Asian Regionalization and Popular Culture: The Case of The Korean Wave (Hallyu)." Master of International Studies, Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University.
- Ayhan, Kadir. 2014. "Utilizing Non-state Actors for Korean Public Diplomacy." In *Korea in the World: Promoting Mutual Understanding and Global Partnerships*, edited by Brendan M. Howe, Daniel A. Pinkston, Utai Uprasen, Kadir Ayhan, Judee Grace Nemen, Robert J. Mitchell, Young-Hoon Kim, Jehad A. M. Sarkar, Xuemei Cui, Akli Hadid and Damdinsuren Ogtontsetseg, 127-170. Seoul: Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Ewhan.
- Ayhan, Kadir, and Myungsoon Yoo. 2013. "Asking Social Connections and Volunteerism in Standardized Questions: The Case of Turkish Civil Society." 2013 Sociological Conference for The Korean Sociological Association, Seoul National University, Seoul.
- Babbie, Earl. 2010. *The Practice of Social Research*. 12th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Thomson Learning Inc.
- Bacharach, Samuel B, and Edward J Lawler. 1981. "Power and Tactics in Bargaining."

- Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 34 (2):219-233.
- Bartelson, Jens. 2006. "Making Sense of Global Civil Society." *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (3):371-395.
- Bátora, Jozef. 2005. "Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States: Norway and Canada." Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- Bátora, Jozef, and Frank Van de Craen. 2006. "Public Diplomacy between Home and Abroad: Norway and Canada." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1 (1):53-80.
- Benessaieh, Afef. 2011. "Global Civil Society: Speaking in Northern Tongues?" *Latin American Perspectives* 38 (6):69-90.
- Betsill, Michele Merrill, and Elisabeth Corell. 2008. *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations*. London, England: MIT Press.
- Bilgin, Fevzi. 2014. "Turkey Brief: Corruption Scandal and Ensuing Political Crisis." Rethink Brief, Washington, D.C. Accessed 20 July 2015. <http://www.rethinkinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Bilgin-Corruption-scandal.pdf>.
- Blaikie, Norman. 2000. *Designing Social Research: The Logic of Anticipation*. Cambridge: UK: Polity Press.
- Bodakowski, Michael, Katherine Marshall, and Sarah Singha. 2009. "Faith-inspired Organizations and Global Development Policy: A Background Review "Mapping" Social and Economic Development Work in Europe and Africa."
- Börzel, Tanja A. 1998. "Organizing Babylon - On the Different Conceptions of Policy Networks." *Public Administration* 76 (2):253-273.
- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2013. *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Brinkerhoff, Jennifer M. 2002. "Government–Nonprofit Partnership: A Defining Framework." *Public Administration and Development* 22 (1):19-30.
- Brinkerhoff, Jennifer M, and Derick W Brinkerhoff. 2002. "Government–Nonprofit Relations in Comparative Perspective: Evolution, Themes and New Directions." *Public Administration and Development* 22 (1):3-18.
- Brown, Robin. 2010. "Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy and Social Networks." International Studies Association Convention (ISAC), New Orleans, Louisiana, 17-20 February 2010.
- Brown, Robin. 2012. "The Four Paradigms of Public Diplomacy: Building a Framework for Comparative Government External Communications Research." International Studies Association Convention, San Diego.
- Brown, Robin. 2013a. "Can Non State Actors Do Public Diplomacy?" *Public Diplomacy*,

*Networks and Influence*, 10 May 2013

<https://pdnetworks.wordpress.com/2013/05/10/can-non-state-actors-do-public-diplomacy/>.

- Brown, Robin. 2013b. "The Politics of Relational Public Diplomacy." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher. New York: NY: Routledge.
- Bugün. 2013. "11. Türkçe Olimpiyatları'ndan Muhteşem Veda." *Bugün*, 17 June 2013. Accessed 30 July 2015. <http://www.bugun.com.tr/tek-kelimeyle-muhtesem-haberi/665545> (accessed 17 June 2013).
- Burt, Richard, Olin Robison, and Barry Fulton. 1998. "Reinventing Diplomacy in the Information Age." Washington, D.C. Accessed 13 July 2015. <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/usiahome/pdforum/fulton.htm>.
- Burt, Ronald S. 2000. "The Network Structure of Social Capital." In *Research in Organizational Behavior*, edited by Robert I. Sutton and Barry M. Staw, 345-423. New York: Elsevier.
- Burt, Ronald S. 2004. "Structural Holes and Good Ideas." *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (2):349-399.
- Burt, Ronald S. 2005. *Brokerage and Closure: An Introduction to Social Capital*: Oxford University Press.
- Byrne, Caitlin. 2009. "Public Diplomacy in an Australian Context: A Policy-based Framework to Enhance Understanding and Practice." Ph.D., Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Bond University.
- Cabral, Roxanne, Peter Engelke, Katherine Brown, and Anne Terman Wedner. 2014. "Diplomacy for a Diffuse World." Issue Brief, Washington.
- Candland, Christopher. 2000. "Faith as Social Capital: Religion and Community Development in Southern Asia." *Policy Sciences* 33 (3-4):355-374.
- Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Castells, Manuel. 2004a. "Informationalism, Networks, and the Network Society: A Theoretical Blueprint." In *The Network Society: A Cross-cultural Perspective*, edited by Manuel Castells, 3-45. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Castells, Manuel, ed. 2004b. *The Network Society: A Cross-cultural Perspective*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Castells, Manuel. 2008. "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1):78-93.
- Castells, Manuel. 2010. "Preface to the 2010 Edition of The Rise of the Network Society."

In *The Rise of the Network Society*, edited by Manuel Castells. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Cevik, Senem. 2014. The Rise of NGOs: Islamic Faith Diplomacy. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/rise-ngos-islamic-faith-diplomacy> (accessed 22 May 2015).
- Charlton, Roger. 1995. "Sustaining an Impact? Development NGOs in the 1990s." *Third World Quarterly* 16 (3):566-575.
- Chi, Chien-Hua. 2005. "NGOs and the Creation of the International Criminal Court." Master's Degree, Department of Diplomacy, National Chengchi University.
- Chisholm, Donald. 1992. *Coordination without Hierarchy: Informal Structures in Multiorganizational Systems*: Univ of California Press.
- Chitty, Naren. 2013. "Australian Public Diplomacy." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, 314-322. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Choi, Eunju. 2011. "A Study on Nonprofit Sector of Japan and Korea in a Comparative Perspective." Ph.D., Graduate School of Social Studies, Doshisha University.
- CIA. 2015. "CIA World Factbook." Accessed 14 May 2015. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>.
- Cihan. 2013. "Kültür Şöleni'ni 3 milyon kişi gezdi." *Cihan*. Accessed 30 July 2015. <http://www.cihan.com.tr/tr/kultur-solenini-3-milyon-kisi-gezdi-1040019.htm?language=tr>.
- Cihan. 2015. "Belçika Başbakanı'ndan Türkçe Olimpiyatlarına Övgü: Sizleri Ağırlamaktan Mutluluk Duyuyorum " Accessed 30 July 2015. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K78Kb\\_oWvTk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K78Kb_oWvTk).
- Clarke, Gerard. 2006. "Faith matters: Faith-based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development." *Journal of International Development* 18 (6):835-848.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology*:S95-S120.
- Comptroller General. 1979. *The Public Diplomacy of Other Countries: Implications for The United States*. edited by Report To The Congress of The United States. Washington, D.C.
- Coombs, W.T., and S.J. Holladay. 2010. *PR Strategy and Application: Managing Influence*: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cooper, Andrew F. 2008a. "Beyond One Image Fits All: Bono and the Complexity of Celebrity Diplomacy." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 14 (3):265-272.

- Cooper, Andrew F. 2008b. *Celebrity Diplomacy*. Bolorado, CO: Paradigm Publications.
- Copeland, Daryl. 2009. *Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Copeland, Lennie. 1985. *Going International: How to Make Friends and Deal Effectively in the Global Marketplace*. Auburn, WA: Plume.
- Cornerstone OnDemand Foundation. 2015. "Disaster Ready." Accessed 6 April 2015. <http://www.disasterready.org/kcoc>.
- Cowan, Geoffrey, and Amelia Arsenault. 2008. "Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1):10-30.
- Cowan, Geoffrey, and Nicholas J Cull. 2008. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1):6-8.
- Cox, Christopher J. 2006. "Digital Repertoires: Non-State Actors and ICTs." *The Osprey Journal of Inquiry and Ideas* All Volumes (2001-2008) (Paper 57).
- Creswell, John W. 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cull, Nicholas J. 2008. "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1):31-54.
- Cull, Nicholas J. 2009a. "Public Diplomacy Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 19-23. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cull, Nicholas J. 2009b. "Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past." CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy.
- Cull, Nicholas J. 2010. "Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for Its Future from Its Past." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 6 (1):11-17.
- Cull, Nicholas J. 2012. "Pearl Harbor and Public Diplomacy: 70 Years On." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 8 (1):1-5.
- Czubek, Grazing. 2002. *Social Diplomacy The Case of Poland: International Activity of Polish NGOs and Their Dialogue with Government*. Warsaw, Poland: Stefan Batory Foundation.
- d'Hooghe, Ingrid. 2005. "Public Diplomacy in the People's Republic of China'." In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen, 88-103. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- d'Hooghe, Ingrid. 2007. "The Rise of China' Public Diplomacy." Clingendael Diplomacy Papers, The Hague, The Netherlands Accessed 12 July 2015. [http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20111027\\_clingendaelpaper\\_rvando](http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20111027_clingendaelpaper_rvando)



[everen.pdf](#).

- Dal Bello, Christine. 2012. "The Power of Citizen Diplomacy." *U.S. Department of State Official Blog*, 22 February 2012. <https://blogs.state.gov/stories/2012/02/22/power-citizen-diplomacy>.
- Davenport, David. 2002. The New Diplomacy. *Policy Review*. <http://www.hoover.org/research/new-diplomacy> (accessed 9 July 2015).
- Davis, Comfort, Ayodele Jegede, Robert Leurs, Adegbenga Sunmola, and Ukoho Ukiwo. 2011. "Comparing Religious and Secular NGOs in Nigeria: Are Faith-based Organizations Distinctive?" RaD Working Papers Series, Birmingham, UK. <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1597/>.
- Delaney, R.F., ed. 1968. *Introduction*. Edited by A.S. Hoffman, *International Communication and the New Diplomacy*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Denhardt, Robert B., and Janet Vinzant Denhardt. 2000. "The New Public Service: Serving Rather than Steering." *Public administration review* 60 (6):549-559.
- Denhardt, Robert B., and Janet Vinzant Denhardt. 2007. *The new public service: Serving, not steering*: ME Sharpe.
- Deniz Feneri. 2015. "Hakkımızda." Accessed 23 July 2015. <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/kurumsal/>.
- DFAT. 2014. "Direct Aid Program (DAP)." Accessed 24 October 2014. [http://www.dfat.gov.au/direct\\_aid\\_program/](http://www.dfat.gov.au/direct_aid_program/).
- Diamond, Louise, and John W McDonald. 1996. *Multi-track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Diamond, Louise, and John W. McDonald. 1991. *Multi-track Diplomacy: A Systems Guide and Analysis*. Grinnell, IA: Iowa Peace Institute.
- Dicklitch, Susan, and Heather Rice. 2004. "The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and Faith-based NGO Aid to Africa." *Development in Practice* 14 (5):660-672.
2003. Committee on Appropriations US House of Representatives (October 2003). *Changing Minds, Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for US Public Diplomacy in the Arab & Muslim World. Report of the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World*.
- Drezner, Daniel W. 2008. "The Future of US Foreign Policy." *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft (IPG)* (15):11-35.
- Ebaugh, Helen Rose. 2009. *The Gülen Movement: A Sociological Analysis of a Civic Movement Rooted in Moderate Islam*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Ebaugh, Helen Rose, and Doğan Koç. 2007. "Funding Gülen-Inspired Good Works: Demonstrating and Generating Commitment to the Movement." *Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, London, UK.



- Ebrahim, Alnoor. 2003. "Accountability In Practice: Mechanisms for NGOs." *World Development* 31 (5):813-829.
- Ekmekçi, Ayşegül, Burcu Uzer, Hazal İnce, Liana Varon, Selen Lermioğlu Yılmaz, Semanur Karaman, Sezin Dereci, Tevfik Başak Ersen, and Zeynep Balcioğlu. 2014. "Sivil Toplum İzleme Raporu 2013-2014." TÜSEV Yayınları, Istanbul, Turkey Accessed 25 December 2015. [http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/images/Izleme\\_Raporu\\_2013\\_2014\(1\).pdf](http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/images/Izleme_Raporu_2013_2014(1).pdf).
- Elaeva, Anastasiya Y. 2011. "Case Study of Russia's Public Diplomacy to Attract US Direct Investment." Ball State University.
- Ergun, Ayça. 2010. "Civil Society in Turkey and Local Dimensions of Europeanization." *Journal of European Integration* 32 (5):507-522.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- European Commission. 2004. "2004 Regular Report on Turkey's Progress towards Accession." Accessed 25 May 2015. [ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2004/rr\\_tr\\_2004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2004/rr_tr_2004_en.pdf).
- European Commission. 2005. "Turkey 2005 Progress Report." Accessed 25 May 2015. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2005/package/sec\\_1426\\_final\\_progress\\_report\\_tr\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2005/package/sec_1426_final_progress_report_tr_en.pdf).
- European Commission. 2011. "Turkey 2011 Progress Report: Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2011-2012." Accessed 25 May 2015. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2011/package/tr\\_rapport\\_2011\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2011/package/tr_rapport_2011_en.pdf).
- European Commission. 2012. "Turkey 2012 Progress Report: Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2012-2013." Accessed 25 May 2015. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2012/package/tr\\_rapport\\_2012\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/tr_rapport_2012_en.pdf).
- European Commission. 2013. "Turkey Progress Report." Accessed 25 May 2015. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2013/package/brochures/turkey\\_2013.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/brochures/turkey_2013.pdf).
- European Commission. 2014. "Turkey Progress Report." Accessed 25 May 2015. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf).
- Evans, Peter. 1997. "Introduction: Development Strategies Across the Public-Private Divide." In *State-Society Synergy: Government and Social Capital in Development*, edited by Peter Evans. Berkeley, US: University of California.
- Falk, Richard, ed. 2005. *The Changing Role of Global Civil Society*. Edited by Gideon Baker and David Chandler, *Global Civil Society: Contested Futures*. Abingdon,

UK: Routledge.

- FEC. 2015. "About FEC." Accessed 23 July 2015. <http://www.fec-ais.com/en/about/>.
- Ferris, Elizabeth. 2005. "Faith-based and Secular Humanitarian Organizations." *International Review of the Red Cross* 87 (858):311-325.
- Fgulen.com. 2011. "How does Fethullah Gülen Encourage People to Serve Humanity? ." Accessed 3 August 2015. <http://en.fgulen.com/about-gulen-movement/3916-how-does-fethullah-gulen-encourage-people-to-serve-humanity>.
- Fisher, Ali. 2008. "Music for the Jilted Generation: Open-source Public Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 3 (2):129-152.
- Fisher, Ali. 2009. "Four Seasons in One Day: The Crowded House of Public Diplomacy in the UK." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 251-261. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fisher, Ali. 2010. "Mapping the Great beyond: Identifying Meaningful Networks in Public Diplomacy." CPD Perspectives in Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles, CA Accessed 15 December 2014. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/legacy/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectivesMappingNetworks.pdf>.
- Fisher, Ali. 2013a. *Collaborative Public Diplomacy: How Transnational Networks Influenced American Studies in Europe*: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fisher, Ali. 2013b. "Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: Building Blocks for a Collaborative Approach to Public Diplomacy." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, 209-226. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fisher, Ali, and Scott Lucas. 2011. "Introduction." In *Trials of Engagement: The Future of US Public Diplomacy*, edited by Ali Fisher and Scott Lucas. Leiden, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Fisher, Ronald J. 2006. "Coordination between Track Two and Track One Diplomacy in Successful Cases of Prenegotiation." *International Negotiation* 11 (1):65-89.
- Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. 2007. "Advancing the New Public Diplomacy: A Public Relations Perspective." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2 (3):187-211.
- Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. 2010. *The Future of U.S. Public Diplomacy: An Uncertain Fate*. Edited by Jan Melissen, *Diplomatic Studies*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. 2012. "Defining Strategic Publics in a Networked World: Public Diplomacy's Challenge at Home and Abroad." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (4):421-440.
- Fitzpatrick, Kathy R., Jami Fullerton, and Alice Kendrick. 2013. "Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Connections." *Public Relations*

*Journal* 7 (4).

- Fouladvand, Hida. 2014. "Public Diplomacy Gangnam Style." Master's, The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Georgetown University.
- Fouts, Joshua, and Douglas Thomas. 2005. "Public Diplomacy and Virtual Worlds: An examination of the role of Massively Multiplayer Online Games as an extension of and venue for cultural dialogue, exchange and identity." DiGRA 2005 Conference: Changing Views – Worlds in Play., Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.
- Fraenkel, Jack R, and Norman E Wallen. 2009. *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. 7th ed. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Freedom House. 2015. "Freedom in the World 2015." Accessed 24 May 2015. <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world#.VWHMp0afZeU>.
- Freeman, Linton C. 1980. "The Gatekeeper, Pair-dependency and Structural Centrality." *Quality and Quantity* 14 (4):585-592.
- Galaskiewicz, Joseph, and Stanley Wasserman. 1989. "Mimetic Processes within an Interorganizational Field: An Empirical Test." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 34 (3):454-479.
- Gangadean, A., and L. Swidler. 2000. "Seven Stages of Deep-Dialogue: Critical Thinking." Dialogue Institute at Temple University Accessed 31 May 2014. <http://institute.jesdialogue.org/fileadmin/DI/SEVEN%20STAGES%20W%20PHOTOS.pdf>.
- Gass, Robert H., and John S. Seiter. 2009. "Credibility and Public Diplomacy." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 19-23. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gazley, Beth. 2008. "Beyond the Contract: The Scope and Nature of Informal Government–Nonprofit Partnerships." *Public Administration Review* 68 (1):141-154.
- Gilboa, Eytan. 2000. "Mass Communication and Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework." *Communication Theory* 10 (3):275-309.
- Gilboa, Eytan. 2008. "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1):55-77.
- Given, Lisa M. 2008. *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods: Volumes 1 & 2*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Piscataway, NJ: AldineTransaction.
- Glesne, Corrine, and Alan Peshkin. 1992. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

- Golan, Guy J. 2014. "An Integrated Approach to Public Diplomacy." In *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Communication and Engagement* edited by Guy J. Golan, Sung-Un Yang and Dennis F. Kinsey. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Golan, Guy J., SungUn Yang, and Dennis F. Kinsey. 2015. *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Communication and Engagement* New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Gregory, Bruce. 2005. "Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms." American Political Science Association Conference on International Communication and Conflict.
- Gregory, Bruce. 2006. "Now That It's Part of a Global Conversation, Should We Keep the Term Public Diplomacy? ." *Worlds Apart? Exploring the Interface Between Governance and Diplomacy*, Wilton Park, UK.
- Gregory, Bruce. 2008. "Public Diplomacy and Governance: Challanges for Scholars and Practitioners." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 241-256. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gregory, Bruce. 2011. "American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6 (3):351-372.
- Grunig, James E. 1993a. "Image and Substance: From Symbolic to Behavioral Relationships." *Public Relations Review* 19 (2):121-139.
- Grunig, James E. 1993b. "Public Relations and International Affairs: Effects, Ethics and Responsibility." *Journal of International Affairs* 47 (1):137-137.
- Grunig, James E, and Todd Hunt. 1984. *Managing Public Relations*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Grunig, James E, and Fred C Repper. 1992. "Strategic Management, Publics, and Issues." In *Excellence In Public Relations and Communication Management*, edited by James E Grunig, 117-157. Mahwah, NJ: Routledge.
- Gül, Şaben. 2013. "Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı'nın Geleneksel İftar Programında Yayınlanan Fethullah Gülen'in Mesajı " [Youtube] Accessed 22 January 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TSvjham8XM4>.
- Gülen, Fethullah. 1996. *Fasıldan Fasıla 2*. İzmir: Nil Yayınları.
- Gürbüz, Mustafa. 2014. "The Long Winter: Turkish Politics after the Corruption Scandal." Rethink Paper, Washington, D.C. Accessed 20 July 2015. <http://www.rethinkinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/The-Long-Winter-Mustafa-Gurbuz.pdf>.
- GYV. 2012. "Uluslararası Diyalog Temsilcileri Biraraya Geldi." Accessed 30 May 2015. <http://www.gyv.org.tr/Haberler/Detay/577/Uluslararası%C4%B1%20Diyalog%20Temsilcileri%20Bir%20araya%20Geldi>.

- GYV. 2015. "Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı." Accessed 7 May 2015. <http://gyv.org.tr/Hakkimizda/Detay/8/Gazeteciler%20ve%20Yazarlar%20Vakf%C4%B1>.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: MIT press. Original edition, 1989. Reprint, 1991.
- Habermas, Jürgen, Sara Lennox, and Frank Lennox. 1974. "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)." *New German Critique* (3):49-55.
- Hall, Edward T. 1976. *Beyond Culture*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Hall, Edward T, and Mildred Reed Hall. 1987. *Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese*. . New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Hall, Peter A, and David Soskice. 2001. *Varieties of capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Han, Eunkyong, Woosung Chang, and Gabshin Hwang. 2008. "A Study on the Relationships Among Hallyu (Korean Wave), National Image, and Corporate Brand Equity." Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec.
- Heine, Jorge. 2006. "On the Manner of Practising the New Diplomacy." *Re-Shaping Diplomacy*.
- Heine, Jorge. 2008. "On the Manner of Practising the New Diplomacy." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 271-287. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hemery, John. 2005. "Training for Public Diplomacy: An Evolutionary Perspective." In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen, 196-209. New York, NY.
- Henrikson, Alan K, ed. 2005. *Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the 'Global Corners' of Canada and Norway*. Edited by Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Henrikson, Alan K. 2013. "Sovereignty, Diplomacy, and Democracy: The Changing Character of International Representation-From State to Self." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 37 (3):111-140.
- HFA. 2015. *Hope to the Future Association*. edited by Hope to the Future Association. Seoul: Hope to the Future Association.
- Hocking, Brian L. 1999. "Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond 'Newness' and 'Decline'." In *Innovation in diplomatic practice*, edited by Jan Melissen, 21-42. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hocking, Brian L. 2004. "Privatizing Diplomacy?" *International Studies Perspectives* 5

(2):147-152.

- Hocking, Brian L., ed. 2005. *Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy*. Edited by Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hocking, Brian L. 2006. "Multistakeholder Diplomacy: Forms, Functions and Frustrations." In *Multistakeholder Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities*, edited by Jovan Kurbalija and Valentin Katrandjiev, 13-29. Malta: DiploFoundation.
- Hocking, Brian L. 2008. "Reconfiguring Public Diplomacy: From Competition to Collaboration." In *Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a Globalised World*, edited by Jolyon Welsh and Daniel Fearn. London: UK: Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
- Hocking, Brian L., and Jan Melissen. 2015. "Diplomacy in the Digital Age." The Hague, The Netherlands.
- Hocking, Brian L., Jan Melissen, Shaun Riordan, and Paul Sharp. 2012. "Futures for Diplomacy: Integrative Diplomacy in the 21st Century." The Hague, The Netherlands.
- Holloway, Immy, and Stephanie Wheeler. 2013. *Qualitative research in nursing and healthcare*: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hope to the Future Association. 2014a. "Board Members." Accessed 30 April 2015. <http://www.hopetofuture.org/hopetofuture/about/directors.asp>.
- Hope to the Future Association. 2014b. "Youth Forum: Korea program." Accessed 30 April 2015. [www.hopetofuture.org/forum/about/summary.asp](http://www.hopetofuture.org/forum/about/summary.asp).
- Hudson, John R., and Philip R. Jones. 2005. "'Public Goods': An Exercise in Calibration." *Public Choice* 124 (3-4):267-282.
- Hudson, Lucian J. 2009. "The Enabling State: Collaborating for Success." London, UK.
- Huijgh, Ellen. 2011. "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension." *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy* 2 (1):6.
- Huijgh, Ellen. 2012. "Public Diplomacy in Flux: Introducing the Domestic Dimension." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (4):359-367.
- Huijgh, Ellen, and Caitlin Byrne. 2012. "Opening the Windows on Diplomacy: A Comparison of the Domestic Dimension of Public Diplomacy in Canada and Australia." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (4):395-420.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. "Democracy's Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy* 2 (2):12-34.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993a. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3):22-49.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993b. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth*



*Century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hwang, Byeongdeok, Yeonghoo Park, Kangtaek Lim, Byeonggon Cheon, Hanbeom Cho, Dongwan Kang, Kapsik Kim, Taehwan Kim, and Gitae Lee. 2013. "Hanbando Tongilgongongwaegyo Chujinjeollyak (II)." Tongilyeonguwon Hyeopdongyeonguchongseo, Seoul, S. Korea.

IFLC. 2015a. "International Festival of Language and Culture (IFLC 2015)." Accessed 30 July 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC08k3u5MD40ggtVd-DSHroA/videos>.

IFLC. 2015b. "Intflc." Accessed 30 July 2015. <http://www.intflc.org/>.

IOC. 2015. *Olympic Charter*. Lausanne, Switzerland: International Olympic Committee.

ISR. 2015a. 2015 ISR Education Program for Retiring Athletes. <http://www.i-sr.org/common/download/?pos=article&id=22> (accessed 14 December 2015).

ISR. 2015b. "About ISR." Accessed 23 July 2015. [http://i-sr.org/sub/sub01\\_02.php](http://i-sr.org/sub/sub01_02.php).

ISR. 2015c. "ISR Homepage." Accessed 23 July 2015. <http://i-sr.org/main/main.php>.

ISR. 2015d. "Vision and Strategy." [http://www.i-sr.org/sub/sub01\\_04.php](http://www.i-sr.org/sub/sub01_04.php).

Japan Foundation. 2015a. "Annual Report." Accessed 22 December 2015. <https://www.jpf.go.jp/e/about/result/ar/index.html>.

Japan Foundation. 2015b. "Fiscal Year 2016 (April 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017) Japan Foundation Program Guidelines." Tokyo, Japan Accessed 22 December 2015. [http://www.jpf.go.jp/j/program/dl/guidelines\\_j\\_2016.pdf](http://www.jpf.go.jp/j/program/dl/guidelines_j_2016.pdf).

Japan Foundation. 2015c. "General Instructions." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/program/instruction.html>.

Japan Foundation. 2015d. "Josei O Uketai." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://www.jpf.go.jp/j/program/index.html>.

Japan Foundation. 2015e. "Program Guidelines." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/program/index.html>.

Japanese MOFA. 2014. "Minister's Secretariat, Functions." Accessed 25 July 2014. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/about/hq/org.html>.

Japanese MOFA. 2015. "Public Diplomacy." Accessed 20 December 2015. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/about/hq/org.html>.

JICA. 2014. "JICA 2014 Annual Report." Tokyo, Japan Accessed 17 December 2015. [www.jica.go.jp/english/publications/reports/annual/2014/c8h0vm000090s8nn-att/2014\\_all.pdf](http://www.jica.go.jp/english/publications/reports/annual/2014/c8h0vm000090s8nn-att/2014_all.pdf).

JICA. 2015a. "Kusanone Gijutsu Kyōryoku Jigyō." Accessed 23 December 2015. <http://www.jica.go.jp/partner/kusanone/index.html>.

JICA. 2015b. "Kusanone Pātonā-Gata Ttenani." Accessed 23 December 2015.

- <http://www.jica.go.jp/partner/kusanone/what/partner.html>.
- JICA. 2015c. "NGO-JICA Japandesuku." Accessed 23 December 2015. [http://www.jica.go.jp/partner/ngo\\_support/japandesk/index.html](http://www.jica.go.jp/partner/ngo_support/japandesk/index.html).
- JICA. 2015d. "NGO No Kata." Accessed 23 December 2015. <http://www.jica.go.jp/for/ngo.html>.
- JICA. 2015e. "NGO Shimin Dantai No Kata." Accessed 23 December 2015. <http://www.jica.go.jp/hiroba/for/ngo.html>.
- Jönsson, Christer. 2008. "Global Governance: Challenges to Diplomatic Communication, Representation, and Recognition." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 29-38. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jung, H. 2006. "The effects of consumer's perception of Korean wave(Hallyu) on Korean product purchase and country image in Chinese market." *Journal of Consumer Studies* 17 (3):79-101.
- Juris, Jeffrey S. 2004. "Networked Social Movements: Global Movements for Global Justice." In *The Network Society: A Cross-cultural Perspective*, edited by Manuel Castells, 3-45. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- JWF. 2013. "Grup Listesi."
- JWF. 2014. "Grup Listesi."
- JWF. 2015a. "About JWF " Accessed 7 May 2015. <http://jwfglobal.org/about/about-jwf>.
- JWF. 2015b. "Journalists and Writers Foundation Global." Accessed 29 May 2015. <http://www.jwfglobal.org/>.
- KADIP. 2011. "GYV Başkanı Yeşil, T24 İnternet Sitesine Çarpıcı Açıklamalarda Bulundu." Accessed 29 May 2015. <http://www.kadip.org.tr/Haberler/Detay/1962/GYV%20Ba%C5%9Fkan%C4%B1%20Ye%C5%9Fil%20T24%20%C4%B0internet%20Sitesine%20%C3%87arp%C4%B1c%C4%B1%20A%C3%A7%C4%B1klamalarda%20Bulundu>.
- Kalaycı, Sezai. 2013. "Şahin praises Journalists and Writers Foundation for courageous coverage." *Sunday's Zaman*. Accessed 2 August 2015. [http://www.todayszaman.com/national\\_sahin-praises-journalists-and-writers-foundation-for-courageous-coverage\\_309002.html](http://www.todayszaman.com/national_sahin-praises-journalists-and-writers-foundation-for-courageous-coverage_309002.html).
- Kaldor, Mary. 2003. "The Idea of Global Civil Society." *International Affairs* 79 (3):583-593.
- Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3):5-23.
- Kaul, Inge. 2001. "Global Public Goods: What Role for Civil Society?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 30 (3):588-602.



- Kaul, Inge. 2012. "Global Public Goods: Explaining Their Underprovision." *Journal of International Economic Law* 15 (3):729-750.
- Kaul, Inge, Pedro Conceicao, Katell Le Goulven, and Ronald U Mendoza. 2003. *Providing Global Public Goods: Managing Globalization*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kaul, Inge, Isabelle Grunberg, and Marc A. Stern, eds. 1999a. *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kaul, Inge, Isabelle Grunberg, and Marc A. Stern. 1999b. "Introduction." In *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg and Marc A. Stern. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kayaoglu, Turan. 2012. "Constructing the Dialogue of Civilizations in World Politics: A Case of Global Islamic Activism." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 23 (2):129-147.
- Kayaoglu, Turan. 2015. "Explaining Interfaith Dialogue in the Muslim World." *Politics and Religion* 8 (02):236-262.
- KCOC. 2014a. "2013 Annual Report (Abridged Version in English)." Seoul, S. Korea Accessed 23 July 2015. <http://www.ngokcoc.or.kr/admin/bbs/down.php?code=co2&idx=4839&no=2>.
- KCOC. 2014b. KCOC Intro. <http://www.ngokcoc.or.kr/eng/01/about01.php> (accessed 6 April 2015).
- KCOC. 2014c. Saoeb Soge: Neteuwoekeu. <http://www.ngokcoc.or.kr/> (accessed 6 April 2015).
- KCOC, and KOICA. 2014. Gukje Gaebal Hyeomnyeok Shijageul Wihan 10Gaji Jilmun (10 Questions for Starting International Development Cooperation). 50. [http://www.ngokcoc.or.kr/company/data/%EC%8B%9C%EC%9E%91%EC%9D%84%20%EC%9C%84%ED%95%9C%2010%EA%B0%80%EC%A7%80%20%EC%A7%88%EB%AC%B8\\_%EB%B0%B0%ED%8F%AC.pdf](http://www.ngokcoc.or.kr/company/data/%EC%8B%9C%EC%9E%91%EC%9D%84%20%EC%9C%84%ED%95%9C%2010%EA%B0%80%EC%A7%80%20%EC%A7%88%EB%AC%B8_%EB%B0%B0%ED%8F%AC.pdf) (accessed 6 April 2015).
- KCRP. 2015. "KCRP." Accessed 1 June 2015. [www.kcrp.or.kr](http://www.kcrp.or.kr).
- KDK. 2010. "Vizyon & Misyon." Accessed 31 October 2014. <http://kdk.gov.tr/faaliyetler/vizyon-misyon/8>.
- Keane, John. 2001. "Global Civil Society?" In *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001*, edited by Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Keck, Margaret E, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelley, John Robert. 2009. "Between 'Take-Offs' and 'Crash Landings': Situational

- Aspects of Public Diplomacy." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 74. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kelley, John Robert. 2010. "The New Diplomacy: Evolution of a Revolution." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 21 (2):286-305.
- Kelley, John Robert. 2012. "The Agenda-Setting Power of Epistemic Communities in Public Diplomacy." International Studies Association Annual Conference, San Diego.
- Kelley, John Robert. 2014. *Agency Change*. London, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kent, Michael L, and Maureen Taylor. 2002. "Toward a Dialogic Theory of Public Relations." *Public Relations Review* 28 (1):21-37.
- Kilby, Patrick. 2006. "Accountability for Empowerment: Dilemmas Facing Non-Governmental Organizations." *World Development* 34 (6):951-963.
- Kim, Jaeeun. 2002. "The Analysis of the Effects of Hanliu Phenomenon on the Chinese Young Generation's Fashion Style." Master's, Clothing Department, Chungnam University.
- Kim, Taehwan. 2011. "21 Saegi Shingonggongwaegyowa Poreom Waegyo." Jeju, S. Korea.
- Kim, Taehwan. 2012a. "21 Saegi Hangukhyeong 'Shingonggongwaegyo (New Public Diplomacy)' - Waegyochongchaekei Paerodaim Shipeuteuwa Choellyakjeok Maeppling."
- Kim, Taehwan. 2012b. "Paradigm Shift in Diplomacy: A Conceptual Model for Korea's 'New Public Diplomacy'." *Korea Observer* 43 (4):527-555.
- Kim, Taehwan. 2014. "Hangukhyeong Jungkyeonguk GonggongWaegyo: Jayujuijeok, Guseongjujeok Jeobgeun." JeongChek Yeongu Gwajae, Seoul, S. Korea.
- Kim, Taehwan. 2015. "Ilbone Demi GonggongWaegyowa Hanguke JisikWaegyo Daeung Bangan." Juyo Gukje Munjae Bunseok, Seoul, S. Korea.
- Kleiner, Juergen. 2008. "The Inertia of Diplomacy." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19 (2):321-349.
- Kohn, Melvin L. 1987. "Cross-National Research as an Analytic Strategy: American Sociological Association, 1987 Presidential Address." *American Sociological Review* 52 (6):713-731.
- KOICA. 2015a. 2014Nyeon Mingandanchejiwon. In *Tonggye Siseutem*, edited by KOICA.
- KOICA. 2015b. "Civil Society Cooperation." Accessed 22 December 2015. [http://www.koica.go.kr/english/schemes/civil\\_society/index.html](http://www.koica.go.kr/english/schemes/civil_society/index.html).
- KOICA. 2015c. "Tonggye Siseutem." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://stat.koica.go.kr>.
- Kojima, Hiroyuki. 2014. "For the Creation of Better Regional and Global Diplomatic Environment." Global Public Diplomacy Network Inaugural Assembly, Seoul,

South Korea.

- Korea Foundation. 2014. "Mingan Waegyo Danchae Koemuniti." Accessed 15 October 2014. <http://www.p2pdc.or.kr/main.do>.
- Korea Foundation. 2015a. "2016Nyeondo Minganwaegyo UsuSaeob Seonbal Gongo." Accessed 22 December 2015. <https://apply.kf.or.kr/selectNoticeAndApplicationView.nkf?anucNo=A1G0000247&pageIndex=1>.
- Korea Foundation. 2015b. "Jijeong Kibugeum Danche." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://www.p2pdc.or.kr/funding.do>.
- Korea Foundation. 2015c. "Mingan Danche Jiwon." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://www.kf.or.kr/?menuno=3934>.
- Korea Foundation. 2015d. "Mingan Waegyo Danchae A to Z." Accessed 26 July 2015. <http://www.p2pdc.or.kr/groupUser.do>.
- Korea Foundation. 2015e. "Support for Diplomatic NGOs." Accessed 22 December 2015. <http://en.kf.or.kr/?menuno=3813>.
- Korean MOFA. 2010. *Munhwawaegyo Maenyueol [Cultural Diplomacy Manual]* Edited by Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Seoul: CLP Peoples.
- Korten, David C. 1990. *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- KOVA. 2015. "KOVA-Ran." Accessed 23 July 2015. [kova.org/html/01main\\_sub01\\_1.php](http://kova.org/html/01main_sub01_1.php).
- Kramer, Ralph M. 1981. *Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State*. California: University of California Press.
- Krebs, Valdis, and June Holley. 2002. Building Sustainable Communities through Network Building. *Appalachian Center for Economic Networks*. <http://www.orgnet.com/BuildingNetworks.pdf> (accessed 25 April 2015).
- Krebs, Valdis, and June Holley. 2006. Building Smart Communities through Network Weaving.
- Kroenig, Matthew, Melissa McAdam, and Steven Weber. 2010. "Taking soft power seriously." *Comparative Strategy* 29 (5):412-431.
- Kunczik, Michael. 1997. *Images of nations and international public relations*: Erlbaum Mahwah, NJ.
- Kurbalija, Jovan, and Valentin Katrandjiev, eds. 2006. *Multistakeholder Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities*. Malta: DiploFoundation.
- Kurucan, Ahmet. 2011. "'Birlikte Yaşama Tecrübeleri'ni paylaştık." *Zaman*, 15 July 2011. Accessed 30 May 2015. [http://www.zaman.com.tr/cuma\\_birlikte-yasama-tecrubelerini-paylastik\\_1158185.html](http://www.zaman.com.tr/cuma_birlikte-yasama-tecrubelerini-paylastik_1158185.html) (accessed 15 July 2011).

- Kwon, Soyoung, and Joon Seok Hong, eds. 2014. *Sports Relations in East Asia: Theory and Practice, iSR Forum Series*. Seoul, S. Korea: iSR Foundation Press.
- L'Etang, Jacquie. 2009. "Public Relations and Diplomacy in a Globalized World: An Issue of Public Communication." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53 (4):607-626.
- L'Etang, Jacquie. 2011. *Public relations: Concepts, practice and critique*. London: Sage Publishing.
- La Porte, Teresa. 2012a. "The Impact of 'Intermestic' Non-State Actors on the Conceptual Framework of Public Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (4):441-458.
- La Porte, Teresa. 2012b. "The Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Non-State Actors and the Public Diplomacy Concept." *Public Diplomacy Theory and Conceptual Issues*, San Diego.
- Langhorne, Richard. 2005. "The diplomacy of Non-state Actors." *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 16 (2):331-339.
- Leach, Jim. 2010. The Importance of Citizen Diplomacy. <http://www.neh.gov/about/chairman/speeches/the-importance-citizen-diplomacy>.
- Ledingham, John A. 2003. "Explicating Relationship Management as a General Theory of Public Relations." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 15 (2):181-198.
- Lee, Geun, and Kadir Ayhan. 2015. "Why Do We Need Non-state Actors in Public Diplomacy?: Theoretical Discussion of Relational, Networked and Collaborative Public Diplomacy." *Journal of International and Area Studies* 23 (1):57-77.
- Lee, Woosung. 2011. "Cheongsongyeon Geullobeol Mirae Rideo Yangseong Peurojekteu Chulbeomhanda." *Yonhap News*, 28 January 2011. Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=shm&sid1=103&oid=022&aid=0002227442> (accessed 28 January 2011).
- Leight, Naomi. 2011. "Essays on Faith Diplomacy." CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles, CA Accessed 13 July 2015. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/legacy/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives\\_Paper%208\\_Web.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/legacy/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives_Paper%208_Web.pdf).
- Lencucha, Raphael, Anita Kothari, and Ronald Labonté. 2011. "The Role of Non-governmental Organizations in Global Health Diplomacy: Negotiating the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control." *Health Policy and Planning* 26 (5):405-412.
- Leonard, Mark, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing. 2002. *Public Diplomacy*. London: UK: Foreign Policy Centre.
- Li, Hongmei. 2011. "Chinese Diaspora and the Image of China." In *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication*, edited by Jian Wang. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Li, Siyu. 2013. "Dancing in Davos: Combining Private Sector, Government, and Rising Nonstate Actors." *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy* 4 (1):8.
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D. 1992. "Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 21 (3):389-420.
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D. 2000. "Crossing borders: Global civil society and the reconfiguration of transnational political space." *GeoJournal* 52 (1):17-23.
- Lord, Kristin M. 2008. "Voices of America: US Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century." The Foreign Policy Program at Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Lord, Kristin M. 2010. *Engaging the Private Sector for the Public Good: The Power of Network Diplomacy*. Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security.
- Macnamara, Jim. 2012. "Corporate and Organisational Diplomacy: An Alternative Paradigm to PR." *Journal of Communication Management* 16 (3):312-325.
- Malena, Carmen. 1995. *Working with NGOs: A Practical Guide to Operational Collaboration between the World Bank and Non-governmental Organizations*. Edited by World Bank Operations Policy Department: World Bank.
- Malone, Gifford D. 1985. "Managing Public Diplomacy." *Washington Quarterly* 8 (3):199-213.
- Manheim, Jarol B. 1994. *Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Influence*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Marczyk, Geoffrey, David DeMatteo, and David Festinger. 2005. *Essentials of Research Design and Methodology*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Marks, Sally. 1980. Diplomacy. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/164602/diplomacy> (accessed 10 November 2014).
- Marshall, Jennifer A, and Thomas F Farr. 2009. "Public Diplomacy in an Age of Faith." In *Toward a New Public Diplomacy*, edited by Philip Seib. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mason, Jennifer. 2002. "Designing qualitative research." *Qualitative researching* 2.
- Mathews, Jessica T. 1997. Power Shift. *Foreign Affairs*. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1997-01-01/power-shift> (accessed 8 July 2015).
- Mathews, Jessica T. 1998. "Power Shift: The Age of Non-State Actors." In *The Economic Impact of Knowledge*, edited by Dale Neef, G. Anthony Siesfeld and Jacquelyn Cefola. Woburn, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Maxwell, Joseph A. 2013. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- McClellan, Michael. 2004. "Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy."

Favorita Papers, Vienna Diplomatic Academy.

- McConnell, Fiona, Terri Moreau, and Jason Dittmer. 2012. "Mimicking State Diplomacy: The Legitimizing Strategies of Unofficial Diplomacies." *Geoforum* 43 (4):804-814.
- McDowell, Mark. 2008. "Public Diplomacy at the Crossroads: Definitions and Challenges in an Open Source Era." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 32:7-15.
- McNeill, William H. 1997. *Keeping together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Medialog Platform. 2014. "Ikegami: Turkey's Democratic Milieu under Great Threat." Accessed 2 November 2015. <http://www.medialogplatform.org/Haberler/Detay/2846/Ikegami%20Turkeys%20democratic%20milieu%20under%20great%20threat>.
- Medialog Platform. 2015. "II. Turkey- Japan Media Forum." Accessed 2 November 2015. <http://www.medialogplatform.org/Haberler/Detay/4089/II%20Turkey-%20Japan%20Media%20Forum>.
- Melissen, Jan. 2005a. "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice." In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen. New York, NY.
- Melissen, Jan. 2005b. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Melissen, Jan. 2011. "Beyond the New Public Diplomacy." Clingendael Paper, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- Melissen, Jan, and Sook Jong Lee. 2011. *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Michel, Charles. 2015. "'Félicitations à tous les enfants qui ont participé au spectacle #ColorsOfTheWorld !'." [Twitter], Last Modified 7 June 2015 Accessed 30 July 2015. <https://twitter.com/charlesmichel/status/607272466579398658>.
- Mitrani, Mor. 2013. "Global Civil Society and International Society: Compete or Complete?" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 38 (2):172-188.
- MOFA, Korean. 2015. "[JuganWaegyoIshyu] Waegyobu Baewoojahwae, Jaseonbajahwae Suikkeume Ilbureul Juhan NepalDaesa NaeWaege Jeondal Deung." *Dehanminguk Waegyobu Beullogeu*, 26 May 2015. <http://mofakr.blog.me/220370595503?Redirect=Log&from=postView>.
- MOFAS. 2015. "Waegyobu Baeujahwae." Accessed 20 July 2015. <http://mofaspouse.org>.
- MOFATS. 2008. *Waegyodeung*. Vol. 19. Seoul, Korea: Waegyo Tongsangbu Baeujahwae.
- MOFATS. 2009. *Waegyodeung*. Vol. 20. Seoul, Korea: Waegyo Tongsangbu Baeujahwae.
- MOFATS. 2011. *Waegyodeung*. Vol. 22. Seoul, Korea: Waegyo Tongsangbu Baeujahwae.

- Morrell, Kevin. 2009. "Governance and the Public Good." *Public Administration* 87 (3):538-556.
- Mueller, Sherry. 2009. "The Nexus of US Public Diplomacy and Citizen Diplomacy." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 101-107. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Murray, Stuart. 2006. "Reordering Diplomatic Theory for the Twenty-first Century: A Tripartite Approach." Doctor of Philosophy, Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Bond University.
- Musso, Juliet Ann, Alicia Kitsuse, and Terry L Cooper. 2002. "Faith organizations and neighbourhood councils in Los Angeles." *Public Administration and Development* 22 (1):83-94.
- Najam, Adil. 2000. "The Four C's of Government Third Sector-Government Relations." *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* 10 (4):375-396.
- NCNK. 2015. "Hanguk NPO Gongdong Hwaei." Accessed 22 December 2015. [www.npokorea.kr](http://www.npokorea.kr).
- Newman, Janet, Marian Barnes, Helen Sullivan, and Andrew Knops. 2004. "Public Participation and Collaborative Governance." *Journal of Social Policy* 33 (02):203-223.
- Nijhof, Andre, Theo de Bruijn, and Hakan Honders. 2008. "Partnerships for Corporate Social Responsibility: A Review of Concepts and Strategic Options." *Management Decision* 46 (1):152-167.
- Nittokai. 2013a. "About "nittoKAI"." Accessed 29 May 2015. [http://www.nittokai.org/about/index\\_en.php/](http://www.nittokai.org/about/index_en.php/).
- Nittokai. 2013b. "NittoKAI." Accessed 29 May 2015. <http://www.nittokai.org/>.
- Nye, Joseph S. 2002. "Grand Strategy and Global Public Goods." *New Perspectives Quarterly* 19 (2):19-26.
- Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Nye, Joseph S. 2008a. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1):94-109.
- Nye, Joseph S. 2008b. "Recovering American Leadership." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 50 (1):55-68.
- OECD. 2014a. "Net Official Development Assistance from DAC and Other Donors in 2013: Preliminary data for 2013." Accessed 18 June 2015. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/documentupload/ODA%202013%20Tables%20and%20Charts%20En.pdf>.
- OECD. 2014b. "Social Expenditure Update." Accessed 25 May 2015.



<http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/OECD2014-Social-Expenditure-Update-Nov2014-8pages.pdf>.

- Ogawa, Tadashi. 2013. "New Frontiers in Relational Public Diplomacy: Collaborative Cultural Initiatives in Peace Building." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Oglesby, Donna Marie. 2010. "Spectacle in Copenhagen: Public Diplomacy on Parade." CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles, CA Accessed 11 July 2015. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/legacy/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectivesCopenhagen.pdf>.
- Oliver, Christine. 1991. "Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes." *Academy of Management Review* 16 (1):145-179.
- Ordeix-Rigo, Enric, and João Duarte. 2009. "From Public Diplomacy to Corporate Diplomacy: Increasing Corporation's Legitimacy and Influence." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53 (4):549-564.
- Özbudun, E., and Ö.F. Gençkaya. 2009. *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-making in Turkey*. New York, NY: Central European University Press.
- Ozden, Serbest. 2012. "Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı BM'de." *Bugün*. Accessed 5 June 2015. <http://www.bugun.com.tr/gundem/gazeteciler-ve-yazarlar-vakfi-bmde-haberi/208688>.
- Pachucki, Mark A, and Ronald L Breiger. 2010. "Cultural Holes: Beyond Relationality in Social Networks and Culture." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:205-224.
- Pahlavi, Pierre Cyril. 2004. "Mass Diplomacy: Foreign Policy in the Global Information Age." Ph.D., Political Science Department, McGill University.
- Pahlavi, Pierre Cyril. 2007. "Evaluating Public Diplomacy Programmes." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2 (3):255-281.
- Pamment, James. 2012. "What Became of the New Public Diplomacy? Recent Developments in British, US and Swedish Public Diplomacy Policy and Evaluation Methods." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (3):313-336.
- Pamment, James. 2013. *The New Public Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pamment, James. 2014. "Articulating Influence: Toward a Research Agenda for Interpreting the Evaluation of Soft Power, Public Diplomacy and Nation Brands." *Public Relations Review* 40 (1):50-59.
- Park, Jungsook. 2009. "Globalization of Hallyu through Organic Power." World Civic Forum 2009, Seoul, South Korea.
- Park, Juseong. 2011. "Hangukgukjehyeopnyeokdan Jiguchoncheheomkwan-Saibeowaegyosajeondan Bankeu, 20il jae 2gi 'Jiguchonshiminhakgyo'



- Baldaeshik." *NewsIS*, 19 May 2011. Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=shm&sid1=102&oid=003&aid=0003864235> (accessed 19 May 2011).
- Park, Se Jung, and Yon Soo Lim. 2014. "Information networks and social media use in public diplomacy: a comparative analysis of South Korea and Japan." *Asian Journal of Communication* 24 (1):79-98.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. 2002. *Qualitative Research and Education Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Payne, J. Gregory. 2009. "Trends in Global Public Relations and Grassroots Diplomacy." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53 (4):487.
- Payne, J. Gregory, Efe Sevin, and Sara Bruya. 2011. "Grassroots 2.0: Public Diplomacy in the Digital Age." *Comunicação Pública* 6 (n10):45-70.
- Peterson, M.J. 1992. "Transnational Activity, International Society and World Politics." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 21 (3):371-388.
- Pigman, Geoffrey Allen, and Anthony Deos. 2008. "Consuls for Hire: Private Actors, Public Diplomacy." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 4 (1):85-96.
- PII. 2014. "Girls Education in Afghanistan: Achievements & Challenges." Accessed 2 August 2015. <http://www.peaceislands.org/portfolio/girls-education-in-afghanistan-achievements-challenges-2/>.
- Plischke, Elmer, ed. 1979. *Diplomacy*. Edited by Elmer Plischke. Vol. 247, *Modern Diplomacy: The Art and the Artisans*. Washington, D.C.: Aei Press.
- Potter, Evan Harold. 2008. *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power through Public Diplomacy*. Quebec, Canada: McGill-Queen's Press.
- Pratt, John Winsor, Richard Zeckhauser, and Kenneth Joseph Arrow. 1985. *Principals and Agents: The Structure of Business*. Boston: Harvard Business Press.
- Price, Richard. 1998. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization* 52 (03):613-644.
- Price, Richard. 2003. "Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics." *World Politics* 55 (04):579-606.
- Public Diplomacy Alumni Association. 2002. "About U.S. Public Diplomacy." Accessed 1 June 2014. [http://pdaa.publicdiplomacy.org/?page\\_id=6](http://pdaa.publicdiplomacy.org/?page_id=6).
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1):65-78.
- Putnam, Robert D, and Kristin A Goss. 2002. "Introduction." In *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*, edited by Robert D Putnam, 1-19. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Rana, Kishan S. 2013. "Diaspora Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy." In *Relational*,

*Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, 70-85. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Rasmussen, Ivan Willis. 2009. "Towards a Theory of Public Diplomacy: A Quantitative Study of Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." Medford, MA.
- Reason, Peter. 1988. "Introduction." In *Human Inquiry in Action: Developments in New Paradigm Research*, edited by Peter Reason. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Reinalda, Bob. 2001. "Private in Form, Public in Purpose: NGOs in International Relations Theory." In *Non-state Actors in International Relations*, edited by Bas Arts, Math Noortmann and Bob Reinalda, 11-40. Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing.
- Reinicke, Wolfgang H. 1999. "The Other World Wide Web: Global Public Policy Networks." *Foreign Policy* (117):44-57.
- Rembe, Annika. 2014. "Public Diplomacy Beyond Nation Branding: – the 0,14% perspective." Global Public Diplomacy Network Inaugural Assembly, Seoul, South Korea.
- Riordan, Shaun. 2004. "Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" Discussion Papers in Diplomacy.
- Riordan, Shaun. 2005. "Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riordan, Shaun. 2008. "The New International Security Agenda and the Practice of Diplomacy." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 135-144. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ronfeldt, David, and John Arquilla. 2009. "Noopolitik: A New Paradigm for Public Diplomacy." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Maureen Taylor, 352-359. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Rosenau, James N. 1992a. "Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics." In *Governance without Government: Order, and Change in World Politics*, edited by James N Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenau, James N. 1992b. "The Relocation of Authority in a Shrinking World." *Comparative Politics* 24 (3):253-272.
- Rosenau, James N. 1995a. "Governance in the Twenty-first Century." *Global Governance* 1 (1):13-43.
- Rosenau, James N. 1995b. "Security in a Turbulent World." *Current History* 94 (592):193-200.
- Rosenau, James N. 1997. *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in*

- a Turbulent World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, Christopher. 2002. "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age." *Washington Quarterly* 25 (2):75-83.
- Ross, Christopher. 2003. "Pillars of Public Diplomacy." *Harvard International Review* 25 (2):22.
- Rowley, Timothy J. 1997. "Moving Beyond Dyadic Ties: A Network Theory of Stakeholder Influences." *Academy of Management Review* 22 (4):887-910.
- Rubin, Herbert J, and Irene S Rubin. 1995. "Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data."
- Rumelili, Bahar, and Buke Bosnak. 2015. "Taking stock of Europeanization of civil society in Turkey: The case of NGOs." In *The Europeanization of Turkey: Polity and Politics*, edited by Ali Tekin and Aylin Güney. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sağ, Yusuf. 2014. *Diyalogun Meyveleri*. İstanbul, Turkey: Ufuk Yayınları.
- Şahin, Levent, and Mustafa Öztürk. 2008. "Küreselleşme Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve Türkiye'deki Durumu." *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* (54).
- Said, Edward W. 2001. "The Clash of Ignorance." *The Nation* (22 October).
- Saidel, Judith R. 1991. "Resource Interdependence: The Relationship between State Agencies and Nonprofit Organizations." *Public Administration Review* 51 (6):543-553.
- Sakurai, Hiro. 2008. "Interfaith Activities at the UN." Accessed 20 June 2015. <http://www.sgi.org/people-and-perspectives/interfaith-activities-at-the-un.html>.
- Salamon, Lester M. 1999. "Preface." In *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*, edited by Lester M Salamon, Helmut K Anheier, Regina List, Stefan Toepler and S Wojciech Sokolowski. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies (CCSS).
- Salamon, Lester M. 2010. "Putting the Civil Society Sector on the Economic Map of the World." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 81 (2):167-210.
- Salamon, Lester M, Helmut K Anheier, Regina List, Stefan Toepler, and S Wojciech Sokolowski. 1999. *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies (CCSS).
- Salamon, Lester M. 1987. "Of Market Failure, Voluntary Failure, and Third-party Government: Toward a Theory of Government-Nonprofit Relations in the Modern Welfare State." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 16 (1-2):29-49.
- Salamon, Lester M. 1994. "The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector." *Foreign Affairs* 73 (4):109.
- Salamon, Lester M., and Helmut K. Anheier. 1992. "In Search of the Nonprofit Sector II: The Problem of Classification." Working Papers of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Baltimore, Maryland Accessed 16 July

2015. [http://www.adm-cf.com/jhu/pdfs/CNP\\_Working\\_Papers/CNP\\_WP3.pdf](http://www.adm-cf.com/jhu/pdfs/CNP_Working_Papers/CNP_WP3.pdf).
- Salamon, Lester M., and Helmut K. Anheier. 1998. "Social Origins of Civil Society: Explaining the Nonprofit Sector Cross-nationally." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 9 (3):213-248.
- Salamon, Lester M., S Wojciech Sokolowski, and Helmut K. Anheier. 2000. "Social Origins of Civil Society: An Overview." Baltimore, Maryland Accessed 14 January 2015. [http://ccss.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2011/09/CNP\\_WP38\\_2000.pdf](http://ccss.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2011/09/CNP_WP38_2000.pdf).
- Samuelson, Paul A. 1954. "The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure." *The review of economics and statistics* 36 (4):387-389.
- Sandler, Todd. 2004. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Saner, Raymond. 2006. "Development Diplomacy by Non-state Actors: An Emerging Form of Multi-stakeholder Diplomacy." In *Multi-stakeholder Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities*, edited by J. Kurbaliya and V. Katrandjiev, 93-104. Geneva, Switzerland: DiploFoundation.
- Sarioğlu, Fatih. 2014. "STK - Hükümet İlişkileri: Vakıf ve Derneklere Vergi Muafiyeti Tanınması Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme." *Türk Dünyası Sivil Toplum Zirvesi*, Eskişehir, Türkiye, 11-13 May 2014.
- Satılmış, Tarık. 1991. "Barış Manço - Kara Sevda 1991 Japonya Konseri." Accessed 13 May 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0NZTyeUsedM>.
- Saunders, Harold H. 2013. "The Relational Paradigm and Sustained Dialogue." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Schneider, Cynthia P. 2009. "The unrealized potential of cultural diplomacy: "Best practices" and what could be, if only...." *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 39 (4):260-279.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 1999. "Global Civil Society: Changing the World?" CSGR Working Paper.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2008. "From Government to Governance: Transition to a New Diplomacy." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 39-60. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scholz, John T., Ramiro Berardo, and Brad Kile. 2008. "Do Networks Solve Collective Action Problems? Credibility, Search, and Collaboration." *The Journal of Politics* 70 (02):393-406.
- Schutt, Russell K. 2006. *Investigating the social world: The process and practice of*

- research. 5th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Scott-Smith, Giles. 2009. "Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M Taylor. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Seib, Philip, ed. 2009. *Toward a New Public Diplomacy*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seib, Philip, ed. 2013. *Religion and Public Diplomacy*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sen, Gita, and Sarath Davala. 2002. "Government-NGO Partnerships An Idea whose Time Has Come?" Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Research Paper Accessed 2 December 2014. [http://115.113.11.211/research/sites/default/files/wp.iimb\\_190.pdf](http://115.113.11.211/research/sites/default/files/wp.iimb_190.pdf).
- Sending, Ole Jacob, Vincent Pouliot, and Iver B. Neumann. 2011. "The Future of Diplomacy: Changing Practices, Evolving Relationships." *International Journal* 66 (3):527-542.
- Seo, Hyunjin. 2013. "The "Virtual Last Three Feet": Understanding Relationship. Perspectives in Network-Based Public Diplomacy." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sevin, Hasan Efe. 2014. "Making New Friends?: Relational Public Diplomacy as a Foreign Policy Instrument." Ph.D., Faculty of the School of International Service, American University.
- Sevin, Hasan Efe, and Gizem Salcıgil White. 2011. "Turkayfe. org: Share Your Türksperience." *Journal of Place Management and Development* 4 (1):80-92.
- SGI. 2015a. "About Soka Gakkai International (SGI)." Accessed 24 July 2015. [https://www.facebook.com/sgi.info/info?tab=page\\_info](https://www.facebook.com/sgi.info/info?tab=page_info).
- SGI. 2015b. "Affiliates." Accessed 13 May 2015. <http://www.sgi.org/community-initiatives/affiliates.html>.
- SGI. 2015c. "Directory." Accessed 13 May 2015. <http://www.sgi.org/about-us/directory/asia/>.
- SGI. 2015d. "Interfaith." Accessed 13 May 2015. <http://www.sgi.org/community-initiatives/interfaith.html>.
- Sharp, Paul. 1997. "Who Needs Diplomats? The Problems of Diplomatic Representation." *International Journal* 52 (4):609-634.
- Signitzer, Benno H, and Timothy Coombs. 1992. "Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Covergences." *Public Relations Review* 18 (2):137-147.
- Signitzer, Benno H, and Carola Wamser. 2009. "Public Diplomacy: A Specific

- Governmental Public Relations Function." In *Public Relations Theory II*, edited by Carl Botan and Vincent Hazelton, 382-411. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Silverman, David. 2010. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. 3rd ed. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Simmons, P. J. 1998. "Learning to live with NGOs." *Foreign Policy* (112):82.
- Simons, Greg. 2014. "Russian Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Structure, Means and Message." *Public Relations Review* 40 (3):440-449.
- Sleap, Frances, and Omer Sener. 2013. *Dialogue Theories*. Edited by Paul Weller. London, UK: Dialogue Society.
- Sleap, Frances, and Omer Sener. 2014. *Gulen on Dialogue*. Edited by Paul Weller. London, UK: Dialogue Society.
- Smith, Steven Rathgeb, and Kirsten A. Grønberg. 2006. "Scope and Theory of Government–Nonprofit Relations." In *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg, 221-242. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Snidal, Duncan. 2013. *Rational Choice and International Relations*. Edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Snow, Crocker Jr. 2008. "The Privatization of US Public Diplomacy." *Fletcher Forum for World Affairs* 32 (1):189-200.
- Snow, Nancy. 2010. "Public Diplomacy: New Dimensions and Implications." In *Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders, and Trends*, edited by Thomas L. McPhail, 84-102. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Snow, Nancy, and Philip M Taylor. 2009. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stake, Robert E. 2010. *Qualitative Research: Studying How Things Work*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Stichweh, Rudolf. 2003. "The Genesis of a Global Public Sphere." *Development* 46 (1):26-29.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 1977. "Theory of Local Public Goods." In *The Economics of Public Services*, edited by M. S. Feldstein and R.P. Inman, 274-333. London, UK: MacMillan Publishing Company. Original edition, 1974.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 1995. "The Theory of International Public Goods and the Architecture of International Organizations." Background Paper Accessed 16 July 2015. [https://www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jstiglitz/download/Theory\\_of\\_Intl\\_Public\\_Goods.pdf](https://www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jstiglitz/download/Theory_of_Intl_Public_Goods.pdf).

- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 1999. "Knowledge as a Global Public Good." In *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg and Marc A. Stern, 308-325. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Strauss, Anselm Leonard. 1987. *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, Anselm Leonard, and Juliet M Corbin. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Sundararaman, Shankari. 2008. "Research Institutes as Diplomatic Actors." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 118-132. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Szondi, Gyorgy. 2008. *Public Diplomacy and Nation branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences*: Netherlands Institute of International Relations' Clingendael'.
- T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu. 2010. "Araştırma ve İnceleme Raporu: Kamuya Yararlı Dernek Statüsünün İrdelenmesi ile Kamuya Yararlı Derneklerle İlgili Yürütülen İş ve İşlemlerin Değerlendirilmesi." Istanbul, Turkey Accessed 25 December 2015. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/assets/dosya/ddk32.pdf>.
- TACC. 2015. "TACC." Accessed 30 May 2015. <http://www.turkeycenter.co.jp/>.
- Tang, Lu, and Hongmei Li. 2011. "Chinese Corporate Diplomacy: Huawei's CSR Discourse in Africa." In *Soft power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication*, edited by Jian Wang. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Taylor, Maureen, and Michael L Kent. 2013. "Building and Measuring Sustainable Networks of Organizations and Social Capital: Post-War Public Diplomacy in Croatia." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Taylor, Peter J. 2005. "New Political Geographies: Global Civil Society and Global Governance through World City Networks." *Political Geography* 24 (6):703-730.
- TCF. 2015a. "About Us." Accessed 29 April 2015. <http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=1>.
- TCF. 2015b. "Culture and Education." Accessed 29 April 2015. <http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=13>.
- TCF. 2015c. "SOFA Fairs: Sculpture Objects and Functional Art." Accessed 29 April 2015. <http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=83>.
- TCF. 2015d. "Turkish Cuisine Culture." Accessed 29 April 2015. <http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=12>.
- TCF. 2015e. "Turkish Cultural Foundation." Accessed 29 April 2015. <http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/>.



- TCF. 2015f. "Turkish Cultural Heritage." Accessed 29 April 2015. [www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=96](http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=96).
- Teegen, Hildy, Jonathan P. Doh, and Sushil Vachani. 2004. "The Importance of Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) in Global Governance and Value Creation: An International Business Research Agenda." *Journal of International Business Studies* 35 (6):463-483.
- Thakur, Ramesh. 2008. "Conclusion: National Diplomacy and Global Governance." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 288-299. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thaut, Laura C. 2009. "The Role of Faith in Christian Faith-Based Humanitarian Agencies: Constructing the Taxonomy." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations* 20 (4):319-350.
- The Center for Citizen Diplomacy. 2014. "Understanding Citizen Diplomacy." Accessed 12 July 2015. <http://centerforcitizendiplomacy.org/about-us/understanding/>.
- The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School. 2002. "Definitions of Public Diplomacy." Accessed 15 May 2014. <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/murrow/pd/definitions.html>
- The Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy. 2008. A Call to Action. edited by Secretary of State. Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. 1995. Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century. edited by Presidential Commission. Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. 1998. Publics and Diplomats in the Global Communications Age. edited by Presidential Commission. Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. 2002. Building America's Public Diplomacy Through a Reformed Structure and Additional Resources. edited by Presidential Commission. Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. 2008. Getting the People Part Right: A Report on the Human Resources Dimension of U.S. Public Diplomacy. edited by Presidential Commission. Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. 2010. "Assessing U.S. Public Diplomacy: A Notional Model." Austin, TX Accessed 20 June 2015. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/235159.pdf>.
- The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. 2014. 2014 Comprehensive Annual Report on Public Diplomacy and International Broadcasting: Focus on FY13 Budget Data. edited by Presidential Commission. Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. Department of State. 2010. "The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR): Leading Through Civilian Power." Washington, DC.



- The U.S. General Accountability Office. 2006. "U.S. Public Diplomacy: State Department Efforts to Engage Muslim Audiences Lack Certain Communication Elements and Face Significant Challenges." Washington D.C.
- The U.S. General Accountability Office. 2009. "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Key Issues for Congressional Oversight." Washington D.C.
- Thrandardottir, Erla. 2015. "NGO Legitimacy: Four Models." *Representation* 51 (1):107-123.
- TIKA. 2014a. "Annual Report 2013." Accessed 21 December 2015. <http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/publication/TIKA%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%202013.pdf>.
- TIKA. 2014b. "Turkish Development Assistance 2013." Accessed 21 December 2015. <http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/publication/TIKA%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%202013.pdf>.
- Today's Zaman. 2015. "Belgium 'Proud' to be Host as 'Colors of the World' Rocks European Capital." *Today's Zaman*, 7 June 2015. Accessed 30 July 2015. [http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa\\_belgium-proud-to-be-host-as-colors-of-the-world-rocks-european-capital\\_383523.html](http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa_belgium-proud-to-be-host-as-colors-of-the-world-rocks-european-capital_383523.html) (accessed 7 June 2015).
- Topal, Semiha, ed. 2015. *Istanbul Summit 2014: Women's Perspectives on UN Post-2015 Development Agenda - Forum Proceedings, Istanbul Summit*. Istanbul, Turkey: The Journalists and Writers Foundation Press.
- Trent, Deborah Lee. 2012a. "American Diaspora Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Lebanese Americans." Discussion Paper in Diplomacy, Hague, Netherlands Accessed 18 June 2015. [http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20121206\\_discussionpaperindiplomacy\\_125\\_trent\\_beveiligd.pdf](http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20121206_discussionpaperindiplomacy_125_trent_beveiligd.pdf).
- Trent, Deborah Lee. 2012b. "Transnational, Trans-Sectarian Engagement: A Revised Approach to U.S. Public Diplomacy toward Lebanon." Ph.D., Columbian College of Arts and Sciences, The George Washington University.
- TRT. 2013. "Türkçe Olimpiyatları'na Muhteşem Final." *TRT Haber*, 17 June 2013. Accessed 30 July 2015. <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/turkce-olimpiyatlarina-muhtesem-final-89703.html> (accessed 17 June 2013).
- Tuch, Hans N. 1990. *Communicating with the world: US public diplomacy overseas*. St. Martin's Press New York.
- Türkçe Olimpiyatları. 2013. "11. Türkçe Olimpiyatları Kapanış Töreni (Tamamı) " Accessed 30 July 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EuyE8nnmdk>.
- Turkish Review. 2014. Turkey's Graft Investigation and PM Erdoğan's Response. [www.turkishreview.org/qa/turkey-s-graft-investigation-and-pm-erdogan-s-response\\_540871](http://www.turkishreview.org/qa/turkey-s-graft-investigation-and-pm-erdogan-s-response_540871) (accessed 20 July 2015).

- Turner, Scott. 1998. "Global Civil Society, Anarchy and Governance: Assessing an Emerging Paradigm." *Journal of Peace Research* 35 (1):25-42.
- TÜSEV. 2010. "Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları’nın Vergi Düzenlemelerine İlişkin Bilgi Notu." Istanbul, Turkey Accessed 25 December 2015. [http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/files/Vergi\\_Bilgi\\_Notu.pdf](http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/files/Vergi_Bilgi_Notu.pdf).
- TÜSEV. 2013. "Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ile Kamu Sektörü İlişkileri Sorunlar-Beklentiler: İstişare Sonuçları ve Değerlendirme." Istanbul, Turkey Accessed 25 December 2015. [http://www.siviltoplum-kamu.org/usrfiles/files/Ortakliklar\\_Belgesi.pdf](http://www.siviltoplum-kamu.org/usrfiles/files/Ortakliklar_Belgesi.pdf).
- UN. 2003. *Handbook on Non-profit Institutions in the System of National Accounts*. Edited by United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Statistics Division. Vol. 91, *Studies in Methods*. New York, NY: United Nations Publications.
- UN. 2006. "Glossary: Terms and Definitions." Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards Accessed 16 July 2015. <http://www.unddr.org/uploads/documents/IDDRS%201.20%20Glossary.pdf>.
- USIA. 1997. "Definition of Public Diplomacy." Washington D.C.
- Vakil, Anna C. 1997. "Confronting the Classification Problem: Toward a Taxonomy of NGOs." *World Development* 25 (12):2057-2070.
- Valencia, Raquel Aguirre. 2006. "The Role of Non-State Actors in Multistakeholder Diplomacy." *Multistakeholder Diplomacy - Challenges and Opportunities*, Malta.
- van Doeveren, Rianne. 2011. "Engaging the Arab World through Social Diplomacy." Clingendael Paper, The Hague, The Netherlands Accessed 12 July 2015. [http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20111027\\_clingendaelpaper\\_rvandoeveren.pdf](http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20111027_clingendaelpaper_rvandoeveren.pdf).
- Van Ham, Peter. 2005. "Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana." In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Rooy, Alison. 1999. "How ambassadors (should) deal with civil society organizations: A new diplomacy?" *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 7 (1):147-157.
- van Seters, Paul. 2008. "Approaching Global Civil Society." In *Critical Mass: The Emergence of Global Civil Society*, edited by James W St G Walker and Andrew S Thompson, 25-39. Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- VANK. 2014. "About World Changer Activities." Accessed 13 May 2015. <http://changer.prkorea.com/dream/activity.jsp>.
- VANK. 2015a. "About Us." Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://korea.prkorea.com/wordpress/english/about-us/>.
- VANK. 2015b. "Cyber Diplomat Edu." Accessed 28 May 2015. [http://diplomat.prkorea.com/cyber/cyber\\_info.jsp](http://diplomat.prkorea.com/cyber/cyber_info.jsp).

- VANK. 2015c. "Public Diplomacy of VANK." Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://korea.prkorea.com/wordpress/english/2012/04/13/public-diplomacy-of-vank/>.
- VANK. 2015d. "VANK." Accessed 28 May 2015. <http://prkorea.com/>.
- Vickers, Rhiannon. 2004. "The New Public Diplomacy: Britain and Canada Compared." *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 6 (2):182-194.
- Volkmer, Ingrid. 2003. "The Global Network Society and the Global Public Sphere." *Development* 46 (1):9-16.
- Walker, Gordon, Bruce Kogut, and Weijian Shan. 1997. "Social Capital, Structural Holes and the Formation of an Industry Network." *Organization Science* 8 (2):109-125.
- Walker, James W St G, and Andrew S Thompson, eds. 2008. *Critical Mass: The Emergence of Global Civil Society*. Vol. 5. Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Waller, J. Michael. 2007. *The Public Diplomacy Reader*. Washington: IWP Press.
- Wang, Gilhwan. 2014. "Segye 'Tongil Hanguk' Mirae Allil Cheongnyeon 1man Myeong Yangseonhanda." *Yonhap News*, 8 May 2014. Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=shm&sid1=102&oid=001&aid=0006896549> (accessed 8 May 2014).
- Wang, Gilhwan. 2015a. "Gonggong Waegyo Jungyoseong Alligo 'Gukga Beuraendeu UP Jeonshihwae' Pyaemak." *Yonhap News*, 1 March 2015. Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=shm&sid1=102&oid=001&aid=0007436895> (accessed 1 March 2015).
- Wang, Gilhwan. 2015b. "<Inteobyu> Gukga Beuraendeu UP Jeonshihwae Yeoneun Park Gitae Bankeu Danjang." *Yonhap News*, 23 February 2015. Accessed 24 July 2015. <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=shm&sid1=100&oid=001&aid=0007424212> (accessed 23 February 2015).
- Wang, Jay. 2006a. "Public Diplomacy and Global Business." *Journal of Business Strategy* 27 (3):41-49.
- Wang, Jian. 2006b. "Managing National Reputation and International Relations in the Global Era: Public Diplomacy Revisited." *Public Relations Review* 32 (2):91-96.
- Wang, Yiwei. 2012. "Domestic Constraints on the Rise of Chinese Public Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (4):459-472.
- Weiss, Thomas G. 2013. *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Original edition, 1999. Reprint, 2003.
- White, Candace, and Danijela Radic. 2014. "Comparative public diplomacy: Message

- strategies of countries in transition." *Public Relations Review* 40 (3):459-465.
- Willetts, Peter. 2011. *Non-Governmental Organizations in World Politics: The Construction of Global Governance*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wilson, Laurie J. 1996. "Strategic Cooperative Communities: A Synthesis of Strategic, Issue-Management, and Relationship-Building Approaches in Public Relations." In *International Public Relations: A Comparative Analysis*, edited by Hugh M. Culbertson and Ni Chen.
- Wiseman, Geoffrey. 1999. "'Polylateralism' and New Modes of Global Dialogue." Discussion Papers, Leicester, UK.
- Wiseman, Geoffrey. 2010. "Polylateralism: Diplomacy's Third Dimension." *Public Diplomacy Magazine* 4.
- World Bank. 2013a. Databank: GDP per Capita, PPP (Current International \$)
- World Bank. 2013b. Databank: GDP, PPP (Current International \$).
- World Bank. 2013c. Databank: Population, Total.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 2006. "Clash of Values: Government Funding for the Arts and Religion." In *Nonprofits & Government: Collaboration and Conflict*, edited by Elizabeth T Boris and C Eugene Steuerle, 311-342. Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute Press.
- Yagi, Tadashi. 2003. Effect of Cultural Influence on Expansion of Market: Empirical evaluation of economic benefits of cultural social infrastructure. *Doshisha University*. <http://yagi.doshisha.ac.jp/culture/evalculturalexchange.PDF> (accessed 2009, October 8).
- Yagi, Tadashi. 2008. International Cultural Exchange and Economic Impact. *Doshisha University*. [http://yagi.doshisha.ac.jp/culture/Culturalexchange\\_final\[1\].pdf](http://yagi.doshisha.ac.jp/culture/Culturalexchange_final[1].pdf) (accessed 2009, November 24).
- Yan, Xuetong. 2002. *Analysis of China's National Interests*, *CNS Books*. Monterey, CA: James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), .
- Yasmeen, Samina. 2008. "Interfaith Dialogue, Diplomacy, and the Cartoon Controversy." In *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?*, edited by Andrew F Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 224-240. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yin, Robert K. 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Yin, Robert K. 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Yin, Robert K. 2011. *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*. New York, NY: Guilford Publications.

- Yoo, Jaewoong. 2007. "Hanguk TV Drama Shicheongi Jejakguk Imijie Michineun Yeonghyang: Junggukgwa Ilbon Shichoengjaruel Daesangeuro." *Hongbohakyeongu* 11 (2):126-158.
- Young, Dennis R. 2006. "Complementary, Supplementary, or Adversarial? Nonprofit-Government Relations." In *Nonprofits & Government: Collaboration and Conflict*, edited by Elizabeth T Boris and C Eugene Steuerle, 37-80. Washington D.C.: The Urban Insitute Press.
- Yun, Seonghun. 2005. "Toward Theory Building for Comparative Public Diplomacy from the Perspectives of Public Relations and International relations: A Macro-comparative Study of Embassies in Washington, DC." Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Communication, Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park.
- Yun, Seonghun. 2006. "Toward Public Relations Theory-based Study of Public Diplomacy: Testing the Applicability of the Excellence Study." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 18 (4):287-312.
- Yun, Seonghun. 2008. "Cultural Consequences on Excellence in Public Diplomacy." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 20 (2):207-230.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2004. "From propaganda to public diplomacy in the information age." In *War, Media, and Propaganda: A Global Perspective* edited by Nancy Snow and Yahya Kamalipour, 219. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2007. "The Soft Power Differential: Network Communication and Mass Communication in Public Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2 (3):213-228.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2009. "Mapping Out a Spectrum of Public Diplomacy Initiatives: Information and Relational Communication Frameworks." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, 86-100. New York, NY: Routledge
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2010. *Battles to Bridges: U.S. Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy after 9/11*. Edited by Donna Lee and Paul Sharp, *Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. Original edition, 2010. Reprint, 2014.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2011a. "The Public Diplomacy Challenges of Strategic Stakeholder Engagement." In *Trials of Engagement: The Future of US Public Diplomacy*, edited by Ali Fisher and Scott Lucas. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2011b. "Strategic Stakeholder Engagement in Public Diplomacy." International Studies Association Conference, Montreal.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2012a. The 4th Quadrant of Public Diplomacy. *E-International Relations*. <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/11/06/the-4th-quadrant-of-public-diplomacy/> (accessed 7 January 2015).

- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2012b. "The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy." CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles, CA Accessed 7 March 2014. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/legacy/publications/perspectives/Paper\\_4\\_2012\\_Cultural\\_Awakening.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/legacy/publications/perspectives/Paper_4_2012_Cultural_Awakening.pdf).
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2013. "Network Purpose, Network Design: Dimensions of Network and Collaborative Public Diplomacy." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, 173-191. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S., Amelia Arsenault, and Ali Fisher. 2013a. "Introduction: The Connective Mindshift." In *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, edited by Rhonda S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, 1-14. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S., Amelia Arsenault, and Ali Fisher. 2013b. *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Zatepilina-Monacell, Olga. 2012. "High Stakes: U.S. Nonprofit Organizations and the U.S. Standing Abroad." *Public Relations Review* 38 (3):471-476.
- Zatepilina-Monacell, Olga. 2015. "Public Diplomacy in NGOs." In *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Communication and Engagement*, edited by Guy J. Golan, Sung-Un Yang and Dennis F. Kinsey. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Zatepilina, Olga. 2009. "Non-state Ambassadors: NGOs' Contribution to America's Public Diplomacy." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 5 (2):156-168.
- Zatepilina, Olga. 2010. "Why U.S.-Based Nonprofit Organizations Have a Stake in the U.S. Standing: A Case Study in Public Diplomacy." 3437589 Ph.D., Syracuse University.
- Zhang, Juyan, and Brecken Chinn Swartz. 2009. "Toward a model of NGO media diplomacy in the Internet age: Case study of Washington Profile." *Public Relations Review* 35 (1):47-55.

# APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

## (ENGLISH)<sup>43</sup>

**Research Project Title:** [Collaborative Public Diplomacy between the Government and NGOs in Korea, Japan and Turkey]<sup>44</sup>

**Researcher:** Kadir Ayhan, Ph.D. Candidate, Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University

This research is related to public diplomacy and people-to-people diplomacy. You are asked to participate in this research as an NGO representative. You will be informed about this research by Kadir Ayhan who is a Ph.D. Candidate in Graduate School of International Studies at Seoul National University. Participation to this research is voluntary and it is important that before you participate in this research, you understand why this research takes place and what this research is about. You can decide to participate in this research after reading details below. In the meantime, you can also ask for the opinion of your family or friends. If you have any questions, the researcher is ready to answer in detail.

**1-** What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of the research is to understand and compare involvement of non-profit NGOs in public diplomacy in Japan, South Korea and Turkey.

**2-** How many people participate in this research?

About 20 people will participate in this research.

---

<sup>43</sup> Both English and Korean versions of informed consent form and guide to interview questions are approved by Seoul National University Institutional Review Board (IRB) with IRB Protocol No: 1501/002-002

<sup>44</sup> Research project title was changed during the course of writing this dissertation.

**3- What are the procedures in the research?**

If you accept to participate in this research, you will have a semi-structured in-depth interview which will approximately take 30 to 60 minutes.

The interview will take place at a place convenient to you (e.g. your office).

**4- How long does the research participation take?**

Your participation will approximately take 30 to 60 minutes. You may be contacted again if there is any more question related to the initial interview.

**5- Is it possible to withdraw from the research?**

Yes, you can withdraw from the interview without any disadvantages. If you want to withdraw from the interview at any time, please let the research know that.

**6- Are there any side effects or risks?**

There are no known risks to participation in this research.

**7- Are there any benefits to participate in this research?**

There are no direct benefits to participate in this study. However, your participation will help the researcher to contribute to the literature and practice of public diplomacy and people-to people diplomacy.

**8- Are there any disadvantages if you do not participate in this research?**

You have freedom to participate in this research. There are no disadvantages if you do not participate in this research.

**9- Does the private information obtained in this research protected?**

Kadir Ayhan, Ph.D. Candidate in Graduate School of International Studies at Seoul National University, is responsible for protection of private information. To facilitate the interviewer's job, the interview will be recorded. The researcher will do his best to protect private information contained in this research. When the interview you give and the information it contains is used for academic purposes as defined by the project, your



name or other private information will not be used. However, if the law requires your private information may be shared with the authorities. Furthermore, monitoring staff, inspectors and Institutional Review Board (IRB) commission may directly inspect the data obtained in this research to approve the research process and credibility of the research within the boundaries of related regulations and without violating protection of private information. Your signature at this informed consent form implies that you know about this information and approve it.

	Yes	No
• The researcher can record the interview.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• The researcher can use my real name	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• The researcher can use the organization's name	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**10-** Are there any rewards to participate in this research?

You will be given a souvenir worth about 20 thousand won as a token of our appreciation.

**11-** How can the questions related to the research be asked?

If you have any questions or if there [are] any problems, you can contact the researcher:

Contact Information of Researcher:

Name: Kadir Ayhan                      Phone: 010-\*\*\*\*-\*\*\*\*    Email: kadirayhan@gmail.com

If you have any questions related to your rights at any time, you can contact Seoul National University's Institutional Review Board:

Seoul National University Institutional Review Board (SNUIRB) Phone: 02-880-5153

**Consent form**

- 1- I have read this informed consent form and have discussed it with the researcher.
- 2- I have heard about risks and benefits to participate in this research and I am satisfied with the answers to my questions.
- 3- I accept to participate in this research voluntarily.
- 4- I approve that the data obtained in this research will be stored and organized within the boundaries of current law and related Institutional Review Board regulations.
- 5- I approve that the researcher or his assistants can have access to private information obtained in this research during the research process. I also approve that school authorities and Institutional Review Board authorities may have access to private information obtained in this research for the purpose of inspection.
- 6- I can withdraw from this research at any time and there are no disadvantages to me following such decision.
- 7- My signature implies that I have a copy of the informed consent form and I will keep the copy until the end of my participation.

-----	-----	-----
Participant’s Signature	Name	Date
-----	-----	-----
Researcher’s Signature	Name	Date

## APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (KOREAN)

### 연구참여자용 설명서 및 동의서

**연구 과제명 :** [정부와 NGO간 공공외교 협력에 대한 분석: 한국, 일본, 터키의 사례를 중심으로]

**연구 책임자명 :** Kadir Ayhan (서울대학교 국제대학원, 박사과정)

이 연구는 공공외교 그리고 민간외교에 대한 연구입니다. 귀하는 NGO 책임자이기 때문에 이 연구에 참여하도록 권유 받았습니다. 이 연구를 수행하는 서울대학교 소속의 Kadir Ayhan 서울대학교 국제대학원 박사과정 학생이 귀하에게 이 연구에 대해 설명해 줄 것입니다. 이 연구는 자발적으로 참여 의사를 밝히신 분에만 하여 수행 될 것이며, 귀하께서는 참여 의사를 결정하기 전에 본 연구가 왜 수행되는지 그리고 연구의 내용이 무엇과 관련 있는지 이해하는 것이 중요합니다. 다음 내용을 신중히 읽어보신 후 참여 의사를 밝혀 주시길 바라며, 필요하다면 가족이나 친구들과 의논해 보십시오. 만일 어떠한 질문이 있다면 담당 연구자가 자세하게 설명해 줄 것입니다.

#### 1. 이 연구는 왜 실시합니까?

이 연구의 목적은 공공외교에 있어서 NGO 단체들을의 이해와 비교를 위해서 하는 것입니다.

2. 얼마나 많은 사람이 참여합니까?

약 20명의 사람이 참여 할 것입니다.

3. 만일 연구에 참여하면 어떤 과정이 진행되니까?

만일 귀하가 참여의사를 밝혀 주시면 다음과 같은 과정이 진행될 것입니다.

약 30분에서 1시간 인터뷰가 진행될 겁니다.

모든 과정은 귀하가 제안하는 장소 (예: 귀하의 사무실)에서 이루어 질 것입니다.

4. 연구 참여 기간은 얼마나 됩니까?

1) 단기간 참여시 다음과 같이 기재

: 약 30분에서 1시간 정도 소요될 것입니다.

인터뷰 내용을 정리한 이후에 인터뷰와 관련 질문이 있으면 다시 연락드릴 수 있습니다.

5. 참여 도중 그만두어도 됩니까?

예, 귀하는 언제든지 어떠한 불이익 없이 참여 도중에 그만 둘 수 있습니다. 만일 귀하가 연구에 참여하는 것을 그만두고 싶다면 담당 연구자나 연구 책임자에게 즉시 말씀해 주십시오.

6. 부작용이나 위험요소는 없습니까?

부작용이나 위험요소는 없습니다.

7. 이 연구에 참여시 참여자에게 이득이 있습니까?

귀하가 이 연구에 참여하는데 있어서 직접적인 이득은 없습니다. 그러나 귀하가 제공하는 정보는 공공외교와 민간외교에 대한 이해를 증진하는데 도움이 될 것입니다.

8. 만일 이 연구에 참여하지 않는다면 불이익이 있습니까?

귀하는 본 연구에 참여하지 않을 자유가 있습니다. 또한, 귀하가 본 연구에 참여하지 않아도 귀하에게는 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다.

9. 연구에서 얻은 모든 개인 정보의 비밀은 보장됩니까?

개인정보관리책임자는 서울대학교의 Kadir Ayhan 서울대학교 국제대학원 박사과정 학생입니다. 연구자가 인터뷰 내용을 편리하게 정리 하기 위해 인터뷰는 녹음됩니다. 저희는 이 연구를 통해 얻은 모든 개인 정보의 비밀 보장을 위해 최선을 다할 것입니다. 이 연구에서 얻어진 개인 정보가 학회지나 학회에 공개 될 때 귀하의 이름과 다른 개인 정보는 사용되지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 만일 법이 요구하면 귀하의 개인정보는 제공될 수도 있습니다. 또한 모니터 요원, 점검 요원, 생명윤리심의위원회는 연구참여자의 개인 정보에 대한 비밀 보장을 침해하지 않고 관련규정이 정하는 범위 안에서 본 연구의 실시 절차와 자료의 신뢰성을 검증하기 위해 연구 결과를 직접 열람할 수 있습니다. 귀하가 본 동의서에 서명하는 것은, 이

러한 사항에 대하여 사전에 알고 있었으며 이를 허용한다는 동의로 간주될 것입니다.

네      아니요

- 연구자가 인터뷰를 녹음하는 것을 허락합니다: ☐ ☐
- 연구자가 연구 목적으로 연구 참여자의 이름을 인용하는 것을 허락합니다: ☐ ☐
- 연구자가 연구 목적으로 연구 참여자 소속을 인용하는 것을 허락합니다: ☐ ☐

10. 이 연구에 참가하면 댓가가 지급됩니까?

귀하의 연구 참여시 감사의 뜻으로 2만원 정도 되는 작은 기념품이 증정될 것입니다.

11. 연구에 대한 문의는 어떻게 해야 됩니까?

본 연구에 대해 질문이 있거나 연구 중간에 문제가 생길 시 다음 연구 담당자에게 연락하십시오.

이름: Kadir Ayhan      전화번호: 010-\*\*\*\*-\*\*\*\*      이메일: kadirayhan@gmail.com

만일 어느 때라도 연구참여자로서 귀하의 권리에 대한 질문이 있다면 다음의 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회에 연락하십시오.

서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회 (SNUIRB)      전화번호: 02-880-5153

## 동 의 서

1. 나는 이 설명서를 읽었으며 담당 연구자와 이에 대하여 의논하였습니다.
2. 나는 위험과 이득에 관하여 들었으며 나의 질문에 만족할 만한 답변을 얻었습니다.
3. 나는 이 연구에 참여하는 것에 대하여 자발적으로 동의합니다.
4. 나는 이 연구에서 얻어진 나에 대한 정보를 현행 법률과 생명윤리심의위원회 규정이 허용하는 범위 내에서 연구자가 수집하고 처리하는데 동의합니다.
5. 나는 담당 연구자나 위임 받은 대리인이 연구를 진행하거나 결과 관리를 하는 경우와 학교 당국 및 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회가 실태 조사를 하는 경우에는 비밀로 유지되는 나의 개인 신상 정보를 직접적으로 열람하는 것에 동의합니다.
6. 나는 언제라도 이 연구의 참여를 철회할 수 있고 이러한 결정이 나에게 어떠한 해도 되지 않을 것이라는 것을 압니다.
7. 나의 서명은 이 동의서의 사본을 받았다는 것을 뜻하며 연구 참여가 끝날 때까지 사본을 보관하겠습니다.

연구참여자 성명

서 명

날짜 (년/월/일)

연구책임자 성명

서 명

날짜 (년/월/일)

## APPENDIX C: INFORMATION ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES

NGO	Home Country	Position	Sex	Medium
KCOC	Korea	Secretary General	Female	Face-to-face
KOVA	Korea	Secretary General	Male	Face-to-face
MOFAS	Korea	General Affairs Manager	Female	Face-to-face
MOFAS	Korea	Assistant Manager	Female	Face-to-face
MOFAS	Korea	Assistant Manager	Female	Face-to-face
VANK	Korea	Director	Male	Face-to-face
VANK	Korea	Researcher	Female	Face-to-face
ISR	Korea	Executive Director	Female	Face-to-face
HF	Korea	Team Manager	Female	Face-to-face
Nittokai	Turkey	Executive Director	Male	Had face-to-face meeting, but conducted meeting via Skype
JWF	Turkey	Vice President	Male	Had face-to-face meeting, but conducted meeting via Skype
Turkayfe	Turkey	Co-founder	Male	Had face-to-face meeting, but conducted meeting via Skype
DF	Turkey	PR Manager	Male	E-mail
FEC	Japan	Director	Male	Face-to-face
FEC	Japan	President	Male	Face-to-face
SGI	Japan	Director	Male	Face-to-face
NPO1	Japan	President	Male	Face-to-face
AAR	Japan	Program Manager	Male	E-mail



## APPENDIX D: INFORMATION ABOUT OBSERVATIONS

NGO	Event/ Meeting
JWF	New York, UN CSW 58 Side Event at UN Headquarters, Girls Education in Afghanistan: Achievements & Challenges, and the meetings after the event
JWF	Istanbul, Istanbul Summit: Women's Perspective on UN Post-2015 Development Agenda, and the meetings after the event
JWF	New York, UN Post-2015 Development Agenda: Contributions of Private Sector and Civil Society; UNGA High-Level Reception and the meetings after the event
KCOC	Seoul, meeting between representatives of KCOC and a foreign NGO
MOFAS	Seoul, Charity Bazaar
ISR	Seoul, education program for retired athletes from eight countries
HFA	Seoul, an essay competition event which was co-organized by HFA
Nittokai's sister organization (Turkish Cultural Center)	Tokyo, dinner event with Japanese guests
Nittokai	Tokyo, meeting between a Japanese advisor (journalist) and representatives of Nittokai

## KOREAN ABSTRACT

# 정부와 NGO간 공공외교 협력에 대한 분석:

한국, 일본, 터키의 사례를 중심으로

Kadir Ayhan

국제대학원 국제학과

서울대학교 대학원

국내외 사회-정치 환경이 변화한 결과, 공공외교 정책이 더욱 효과적이고 장기적인 성과를 내기 위해서는 국가기관과 비국가 행위자 간의 협력을 요한다. 공공외교와 관련이 되는 다양한 비국가 행위자들이 있지만, 이 논문은 NGO에 집중한다. 비국가적 공공외교에 (또는 민간외교) 대해서 아직까지 연구가 조금밖에 이루어지지 않은 상태입니다. 이제까지 잘 연구되지 않았던 NGO들의 공공외교활동을 탐색하기

위해 본고는 NGO들이 왜 그리고 어떻게 공공외교를 수행하는지, 또 공공외교에 기여하는지 답하고자 한다. 아울러 공공외교에서 국가기관과 NGO들간 협력이 왜, 그리고 어떻게 이루어지는지 고찰한다.

이 논문은 먼저 NGO들이 공공외교의 다양한 영역, 커뮤니케이션 틀, 목적 그리고 수단과 어떻게 관련되는지 보여줌으로써 그들을 공공외교 분석에 포함시킨다. 아울러, 이 논의를 바탕으로, 본고는 공공외교의 관계 (relational) 그리고 네트워크 (network) 측면에서 어떤 NGO들이 국가기관과의 협력에 가장 적합한지 예측하고 규범적으로 제안하기 위한 분석틀을 개발한다. 또한 본고는 공공외교의 주도권에 따라 국가기관과 NGO들의 협력의 유형 분류 체계를 제시했는데, 이 분류는 두 가지 차원에 근거를 두고 있다. 그 중 하나인 project-initiator는 협력적 공공외교 프로젝트가 원래 누구의 이니셔티브인지를 분류하는 반면 다른 하나인 collaboration-initiator는 협력의 제안을 누가 먼저 하는지에 따라 분류한다.

최근 공공외교 관련 문헌에서 널리 인정된 것처럼, 국가기관이 갖는 일정한 약점들로 인해 국가중심적 공공외교만으로는 장기적으로 효율적인 공공외교 성과를 도출하기에 충분치 않다. 이런 상황에서는 일정한 NGO들은 국가기관들과

협력함으로써 그 약점을 보충 또는 보완할 수 있는 장점을 가진다. 국가기관과 NGO들의 협력은 크게 두 가지 방식으로 이루어진다. 하나는 일정한 공공외교 이니셔티브를 위한 NGO들의 협력 지원을 국가기관이 수용하는 것이며, 다른 하나는 가장 뛰어난 잠재력을 보인 협력대상자를 국가가 적극적으로 탐색하는 것이다. 이 논문은 NGO들 그리고 다른 비국가행위자들의 잠재력을 활용하기 위해 국가 기관은 협력하자는 NGO들에 문을 여는 것뿐만 아니라 먼저 NGO들을 찾아야 한다고 주장한다.

분석 틀과 이론적인 논의의 타당성을 확인하기 위해서 공공외교에 있어서 한국, 일본, 터키 NGO들의 활동을 사례 연구를 통해 연구했다. 다음 명제들은 사례 연구를 통해 강화가 되었다: (1) 어떤 NGO들의 활동은 공공외교 결과를 만든다. 이 점은 더 효과적인 공공외교 정책을 위해 아직 활용 되어 있지 않는 잠재력을 보여준다. 공공외교에 있어서 NGO들의 활동을 잘 파악하기 위해서 -원래 목적이 무엇이든 간에- 그들의 활동의 공공외교와 관련 결과를 고려해야한다. (2) NGO들은 지속가능한 관계형성 (relationship building) 그리고 관계 관리 (relationship management), 본인들과 동등한 위치에 있는 이해당사자들과 대칭적인 그리고

대화적인 커뮤니케이션을 (symmetrical and dialogic communication) 할 수 있는 잠재력 능력이 있다. (3) 어떤 대중들과 소통을 하려할 때 신뢰가 가장 큰 장애가 된다면, 관련 네트워크 (또는 일부)에서 신뢰도가 높은 NGO들이 커뮤니케이션과 관계 관리를 가능하게 만들 수 있다. (4) 어떤 대중들과 소통을 하려 할 때 접근성이 (reach) 가장 큰 장애가 된다면, 교량적 사회자본이 (bridging social capital) 높은 NGO들이 접근, 커뮤니케이션 그리고 관계 관리를 가능하게 만들 수 있다. (5) 국가중심적 공공외교는 효과적인 공공외교정책을 위해서 부족하다. 국가 기관들은 다양한 측면에서 부족한 점들을 보완하려면 국가기관들이 부족한 부분에서 국가기관들의 공공외교정책과 일치한 활동을 이미 잘 수행하고 있는 혹은 수행 가능한 역량이 있는 NGO들과 협력을 해야 한다.

**주제어:** 공공외교, 비국가 행위자, NGO, 홍보, 소셜 네트워크, 협력